SUPPLEMENTS TO VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

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Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity

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Edited by
NIENKE VOS AND WILLEMIEN OTTEN

Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity

Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae

Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language

Editors

J. den Boeft—B.D. Ehrman—J. van Oort— D.T. Runia—C. Scholten—J.C.M. van Winden

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

- K.A. (Keimpe) Algra is Professor of the History of Ancient and Medieval Philosophy at the University of Utrecht.
- H. (Hagit) Amirav is Assistant Professor in Early Christian Studies in the Theology Department of VU University Amsterdam, and Director of an ERC project on patristic exegesis entitled *The Christian Appropriation of the Jewish Scriptures: Allegory, Pauline Exegesis, and the Negotiation of Religious Identities.*
- G.J.M. (Gerard) Bartelink is Professor Emeritus of Early Christian Greek and Latin and Medieval Latin at the Radboud (formerly: Catholic) University of Nijmegen.
- A.A.R. (Toon) Bastiaensen († 2009) was Senior Lecturer in Early Christian Latin at the Radboud (formerly: Catholic) University of Nijmegen.
- B. (Boudewijn) Dehandschutter († 2011) was Professor of Greek Patristics and Early Christian History at the Catholic University of Leuven.
- B.S. (Babette) Hellemans is Associate Professor of Medieval History at the University of Groningen.
- Th. (Theodoor) Korteweg is an independent patristic scholar and pastor in Ferwert.
- W. (Willemien) Otten is Professor of the Theology and History of Christianity at the University of Chicago.
- G.C.M. (Geert) van Oyen is Professor of New Testament at the Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve.
- G. (Gerd) Theißen is Professor Emeritus of New Testament Theology at the University of Heidelberg.
- N.M. (Nienke) Vos is Associate Professor of Patristics and the Literature of Early Christianity in the Classics Department of VU University Amsterdam.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt BGL. Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur **BZNW** Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche CCCM Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis CCSL Corpus Christianorum Series Latina CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum DDD Dictionary of Deities and Demons EdF Erträge der Forschung **EKK** Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament EncRel Encyclopedia of Religion EvTh Evangelische Theologie FKDG Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei **Jahrhunderte** HrwGHandbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual Journal of the American Academy of Religion *JAAR* IBL*Journal of Biblical Literature* JÖB Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik ISNT Journal for the Study of the New Testament **ISNTS** *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement* **ISOTS** Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement NHC Nag Hammadi Codices **NHMS** Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies NTOA Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus OCA Orientalia Christiana Analecta PGM Papyri Graecae Magicae PG Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne PL. Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne

PР

PS

PTS

RAC

Periphyseon

Patrologia Syriaca

Patristische Texte und Studien

Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum

SC Sources Chrétiennes

SEERI St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute

SHR Study in the History of Religions, Supplements to Numen

SNTS Society for New Testament Studies SSL Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense StOR Studies in Oriental Religions

SVF Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta TRE Theologische Realenzyklopädie

TU Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristli-

chen Literatur

OAW Oesterreichische Akademie von Wissenschaften

VA Vita Antonii VM Vita Macrinae

WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen des Neuen Testaments ZNW Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die

Kunde der alten Kirche

ZThK Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche



DEMONS AND THE DEVIL IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY: INTRODUCTION, SUMMARY, REFLECTION

Nienke Vos

Introduction

This volume in the series Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae contains a collection of articles, which are based on papers read at a conference on 'Devils and Demons in Ancient Christianity' in Heeze, the Netherlands, on 6-7 October 2006. The conference was organized by the Dutch Society of Early Christian Studies ('Genootschap Oudchristelijke Studiën') and presided over by Willemien Otten, who in her capacity as Professor of Church History at Utrecht University chaired the society between 2001 and 2007. Over the last two decades this society, which originally grew out of a circle of colleagues and students of the famed classicist Christine Mohrmann (Catholic University of Nijmegen and University of Amsterdam), has held a conference once every five years. Various themes were chosen, such as 'The Apostolic Age in Patristic Thought' (2001), concerned with issues of authority, 'The Impact of Scripture in Early Christianity' (1996), which dealt with a variety of exegetical issues, and 'Early Christian Poetry' (1991), exhibiting a sharp literary focus.1 With the subject of 'demons and demonology' a darker side of early Christianity has come into play, which trend continues with the theme selected for the conference of 2011: 'Early Christianity and Violence'.

The editors wish to include three additional comments. On January 8, 2009, Dr. Toon Bastiaensen, one of the contributors to this collection of studies, passed away. As former student and collaborator of Christine Mohrmann, and a life-long member of the Society of Early Christian Studies Toon Bastiaensen helped to carry its activities forward for decades. We dedicate this volume to his memory: May he rest in peace. Just when the proofs came in for a final correction, we received

¹ The Apostolic Age in Patristic Thought, ed. A. Hilhorst (Leiden: Brill, 2004); The Impact of Scripture in Early Christianity, ed. J. den Boeft and M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Early Christian Poetry, ed. J. den Boeft and A. Hilhorst (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

the sad news that Boudewijn Dehandschutter, another member of our society and contributor to this volume, had passed away. We remember him with great respect.

The second comment concerns the opening article by Gerd Theißen, which represents a separate addition to the papers presented at the conference. Read at Utrecht University in April 2006, Theißen's paper revealed such remarkable affinity with the theme of the conference that permission was asked, and subsequently granted, to include it here. The editors owe him much gratitude for his kindness and patience.

Thirdly, we would like to express our thanks to the members of the editorial board of the series for their steadfast commitment to the publication of this volume and their valuable comments and advice during its gestation.

DEMONS, THE DEVIL AND THE DEMONIC

Useful general surveys of our theme 'Demons, the Devil and the Demonic' can be found in various handbooks, such as the Encyclopedia of Religion, the Encyclopaedia Judaica, the Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe and the Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.² In recent years the notion of the demonic has enjoyed increasing scholarly attention. In 1995 (revised 1998), the Dictionary of Deities and Demons (DDD) was published, edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter van der Horst.³ Subsequently, in 2003, the proceedings of a conference held at Tübingen (2001) were published under editorship of Armin Lange and Herman Lichtenberger, entitled: Die Dämonen: die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt (Demons: the Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment).⁴ While it explicitly mentions 'Early Christian

² Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. L. Jones (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005, 2nd rev. edition); Encyclopaedia Judaica, ed. F. Skolnik (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007, 2nd edition); Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe, ed. H. Cancik et al. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1988–2001); Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, ed. E. Dassmann (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1994).

³ Dictionary of Deities and Demons, ed. K. van der Toorn et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1995/1998).

⁴ Die Dämonen: die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt (Demons: the Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment), ed. A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

tian Literature' in the title, the volume concentrates on the earlier material of the Hebrew Bible and the Second Temple Period. The early Christian literature that is discussed mainly concerns the New Testament. By contrast, the present collection also emphasizes subsequent segments of history, ranging from the treatment of New Testament texts, via the patristic age, to the medieval period.

Before moving on to other recent publications on 'demons', I want to discuss briefly one article included in the introduction to *Die Dämonen*: 'The Notion of Demon: Open Questions to a Diffuse Concept' by Anders Klostergaard Petersen.⁵ In his article Petersen raises various theoretical issues concerning the notion of demon. He states that it is impossible to come up with a 'substantive definition', ⁶ because demon can mean too many different things. Therefore, he opts for a 'functional definition', which allows both for a variety of meanings and 'conceptual continuity'. I will return to his proposition of a functional description shortly.

Petersen further explains that the range of meanings of demon is very much bound up with the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the concept, complicating the definitional issue even further. Taking the usage of 'demon' in the Greek tradition as his starting point, Petersen shows how the Greek concept is 'semantically versatile',⁸ as it may refer to 'deceased souls',⁹ 'lesser powers or nature spirits',¹⁰ or even 'the Olympian gods'.¹¹ Observing also a shared quality, Petersen gives the following (functional) definition: 'the *daimon* designates a discoursive role that enables the gods to enter the scene of humans and makes them capable of communicating with their human counter-parts.'¹² While in the Greek material the demon may represent a neutral, negative or positive force, in the early Christian tradition the demon becomes representative of evil.¹³ Petersen describes the process as follows: 'Rather than mediating the relation between God and mankind the *daimon*

⁵ Anders Klostergaard Petersen, 'The Notion of Demon: Open Questions to a Diffuse Concept,' in *Die Dämonen: die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, ed. Armin Lange and Herman Lichtenberger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 23–41.

⁶ Petersen, 'The Notion of Demon,' 25, 28–31.

⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁸ Ibid., 35.

⁹ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰ Ibid., 34.

¹¹ Ibid., 35.

¹² Ibid., 36.

¹³ Ibid., 27, 31-33.

came to mediate between the concepts of good and evil. As part of a theodicy evil was excluded from the realm of God and relegated to a transhuman world antagonical to the divine.' According to Petersen, it is this development that has become dominant in the reception history of 'demon'. He writes: 'Complying with this Christian tradition of interpretation an important strand in the history of research has been inclined to use the concept of demon exclusively to denote malignant mediatory beings.' 15

Petersen's escape from the definitional complexities surrounding the concept of 'demon' largely hinges on his adoption of a functional approach.¹⁶ Below I quote from his conclusion to summarize his viewpoint:

Demons signify both gods and lesser spirits. They may denote mediatory beings either benevolent or malevolent in nature. They may designate deceased souls as well as outbursts of irrationality in the human world. The concept may be used in a personified and in a depersonified sense. It may connote freedom as well as unfreedom. The possibilities of extensions seem inexhaustible and yet there is a limit to the extension. What unites all these different uses is not only the fact that they are subscribing to the same notion. There is one point towards which they are all converging. The concept of demon has proven to be a particularly apt category in cases in which humans have negotiated, philosophised, theologised and reflected upon the relationship between the human and the transhuman world—whether that world be ascribed a negative or a positive value. During the course of the concept's history of reception the notion has fulfilled an indispensable discoursive function enabling humans to talk about things beyond their own nature.

The demon has been held to act as a human representative in the divine world and as a divine agent in the world of men. It has been used to represent an evil element in a world basically held to be good. And it has been used to embody the good element in a world held to be evil.¹⁷

In the present volume the possibility of a 'good' or 'neutral' interpretation of the demon as part of the Greek tradition is only demonstrated in one article, namely that on 'Stoic demonology' by Keimpe Algra. The majority of the articles testify to the early Christian develop-

¹⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹⁵ Ibid., 33.

¹⁶ This approach resonates with that in the—earlier mentioned—*Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* which discusses 'demons' in terms of *Zwischengänger* (in the article 'Zwischenwesen').

¹⁷ Petersen, 'The Notion of Demon,' 38–39.

ment signalled by Petersen that 'the notion of *daimon* was reduced to denote negative aspects only': 'demons as evil spirits'.¹⁸ With reference to Petersen's instructive article, I want to add one more observation concerning the present proceedings. They not only address the 'notion of demon' but also discuss the figure of 'Satan'. This holds true especially for the contribution by Gerd Theißen, which is the only German article in the collection. It was not read as a paper at the conference but the editors are very grateful to the author for his willingness to include it in the volume. It opens as follows: 'Dämonenglaube gibt es überall auf der Welt, einen Satan als Gegenspieler Gottes aber nur in den monotheistischen Religionen des Westens mit einer analogie im Buddhismus als östlicher Erlösungsreligion.' I refer the reader to the summary of Theißen's article in this introduction and the contribution itself which explores 'the history of Satan'.

In addition to the production of dictionaries and proceedings, 'demons' have inspired the publication of various monographs and articles. David Brakke, for example, published his Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity in 2006.¹⁹ In this work a variety of monastic texts is covered: from the Life of Antony to the complex writings of Evagrius Ponticus and the stories of Palladius. While Brakke's treatment of these texts is partly philological and partly philosophical, the book also displays a (post-)modern theoretical interest in issues of sexuality, otherness and gender, as is apparent from chapter headings like 'Ethiopian Demons: The Monastic Self and the Diabolical Other' and 'Manly Women, Female Demons, and Other Amazing Sights: Gender in Combat.' In similar vein the 2008 winter issue of the Journal of Early Christian Studies contains an article with the inviting title 'How thin is a demon?,' in which Gregory Smith discusses the nexus between demonology, cosmology and anthropology. Smith's emphasis is on the 'physical science' of demons as he invites his readers to explore the connections between the physicality of the demon and more psychologically oriented interpretations of the demonic.²⁰

In sum, it seems that in recent years many authors have employed a variety of genres and methodological angles to address the fascinating

¹⁸ Ibid., 32.

¹⁹ D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2006).

²⁰ G. Smith, 'How thin is a demon?,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16,4 (2008) 479–512.

figure of the ancient demon. Thus, demonology in general as well as notions of Satan and the demonic in early Christianity have been treated from historical, linguistic, philosophical, and anthropological perspectives—to name but a few. The present volume builds on the multi-faceted and interdisciplinary approach represented in these recent studies by bringing together contributions from historians, classicists, philosophers, and theologians. In this way it explicitly wants to invite the reader to draw out the connections between the various articles for him- or herself. As a first reader, I will offer a collection of such links below, in the course of trying to synthesize this volume. One article may be seen to flesh out the suggestions offered by another, or authors may appear to shed light on the same subject from various methodological perspectives. However, it is important to note that, apart from such thematic convergences, this collection has left ample room for the contributors to express their individual interests and expertise. This means that lesser known sources, such as the seventh century Missale Gothicum, of which a critical edition was published only recently (2009) in the Corpus Christianorum series, and the Bibles Moralisées of the thirteenth century, have also received a voice in the debate on demonology. In what follows, I shall comment upon the articles in this collection in more detailed fashion.

SETTING THE SCENE

The volume is divided into four clusters: Setting the Scene, which incorporates the introduction and the first two contributions, The New Testament and Its Reception, Ancient Christianity, and Medieval Christianity, with each cluster comprising three articles. First, I address the articles by Gerd Theißen and Keimpe Algra in the first cluster, as together the pieces by Theißen and Algra provide the necessary background for the ones that follow. Theißen describes the 'career of the devil' from a predominantly biblical perspective, while Algra discusses the 'career of the demons' in the Stoic tradition. Together these articles present the reader with the wide scope of biblical and classical thinking and as such set the scene for the discussion of later materials. At the end of my survey, I will include a concluding segment.

Theißen does not start from a belief in demons, which—he states—occurs in every religion. Rather, he focuses on the specific figure of the devil, intrigued as he is by his development. Providing the reader

with a historical overview, Theißen presents a variety of evidentiary texts: Old Testament, New Testament, rabbinic, Gnostic, etc. As for the origins of belief in the devil, he holds that it may originate from a desire to explain evil when it is not attributed to God or other humans. But belief in the devil may also develop from an attempt to represent humans in their unredeemed state: in that case the devil represents the mirror image of salvation. A third ground for the 'birth of satan' lies in the definition of the devil as the antipode of the one God.

In one sense, the devil is what Theißen aptly calls 'systemwidrig': he defies the system, he does not fit. In a monotheistic system there is no room for an independent figure of power next to God. However, in another sense the devil is 'systemerhellend': he enlightens the system, he demonstrates the risks involved in what is going on. In this latter case the devil represents a faith in God gone haywire. As religion harbors the possibility of derailment when the worship of God destructively transforms into extremism, the role of Satan is precisely to signal such abuse. The New Testament story of Jesus' temptation in the desert testifies to this dynamic: the devil wants to be God. Satan 'repräsentiert eine Selbstreflexion des Monotheismus in mythischer Form'.

It may subsequently be asked what happens with this mythical figure. Theißen observes three options. First, he discusses the New Testament message that the devil has been conquered, in which model the devil still somehow haunts the imagination of the early Christians. Second, there is the Enlightenment option. Enlightened moderns have been liberated from the idea of the devil's existence in reality: 'Für afgeklärte Menschen heute ist der Teufel eine innere Phantasie, von deren Macht Menschen befreit werden sollten.' Salvation from the devil has now become a matter of the mind. In a sense these two models converge: 'Entmythologisierung des Teufels konvergiert mit dem Ziel des neutestamentlichen Satansmythos.' But Theißen ultimately prefers a third option in which the devil says goodbye to the devil in its mythical guise, only to greet him back in poetical form, as a powerful notion with which to criticize the various dangers inherent in religion. At the end of his article Theißen states his aim to contribute to 'Aufklärung': 'einerseits zu seiner Verabschiedung als Realität, andererseits zu zeiner Deutung als Symbolik des Bösen'.

After this introduction, Theißen divides his article in two parts. He includes a longer, historical section about the devil's road to fame (Aufstieg des Teufels), i.e., the history of the myth of Satan. From his role of assistant Satan evolves into the great opponent of God until his power

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is curbed in Judaism only to be denied in the New Testament. In this first section, Theißen briefly mentions the patristic and medieval eras, precisely the periods addressed in the subsequent parts of this volume. In a second, systematic part Theißen discusses the three meanings of Satan in early Christianity. The first is socio-historical, as Satan is a symbol of resistance to political powers. The second is psychological/anthropological, as Satan symbolizes the battle against evil within the human himself, thus representing internal conflict. The third option, which Theißen favours, is religio-psychological: Satan symbolizes religion run amok, thereby signalling the dangers of extremism.

Theißen starts his analysis of Satan's historical 'rise and fall' by mentioning so-called 'Zwischenwesen': angels who descend from heaven to earth as hypostases of the divine, and heroes who ascend to the sphere of divinity. Outside the ordered cosmos the forces of chaos abound. Theißen observes two operative tendencies which have shaped 'the history of Satan': there is the need to exempt God from the responsibility for evil by way of the devil, i.e., the attribution of evil to another source, and there is the desire to limit the devil's power.

The author carefully traces how in the biblical sources the devil develops from prosecutor to perpetrator of harm. In the period between the two testaments, Satan gains power in three successive steps: he takes over functions traditionally attributed to God, he becomes the leader of the fallen angels, and he takes over the functions of chaos. With reference to the first step, Theißen explains how the dark side of God (his anger) is hypostasized in Satan. This development reaches its climax in the full-blown dualism of Gnosticism. Since Gnostics are unable to attribute the evil in the world, or rather 'the evil world', to God, they place this burden on the demiurge who, in turn, demands divine worship for himself. The aspect of Gnostic dualism is further discussed by Boudewijn Dehandschutter in his contribution on Messalianism. The next step in the devil's rise to power entails a complex hierarchical development as the devil rises to become the leader of a pack of demons. A third and final step concerns the transformation of Satan into a symbol of chaos. The devil has gained an enormous amount of power by the time of the New Testament writings: he leads a host of fallen angels, his kingdom is antithetical to that of God Himself, and his aim is to be deified: 'Selbstapotheose'. To summarize: the devil's career is driven by a need to protect God from being tainted by evil. Evil was attributed to Satan and dualism came into existence. Still, because the presence of an independent, evil power threatened

the structure of monotheism, Satan's power needed to be restricted through a process of curtailment.

First, the existence of the devil was simply denied. Second, good and evil were transferred to two spirits, which were then situated in the inner self of humans. This led to a psychological relativization of Satan. In the work of the apostle Paul, for instance, a similar idea has resulted in the opposition of spirit against flesh. The notion of an internal presence of evil in the guise of a psychological reality is also discussed in the articles by Algra, Dehandschutter and Vos. The third tool of the devil's containment mentioned by Theißen lies in the notion of eschatological relativization, for at the end of time the devil's power will be destroyed. The New Testament clearly proclaims that the power of the devil has been annulled. In the story of the temptation in the desert, Jesus sees the devil falling from the sky as a bolt of lightening. Thus, the devil is chained, 'gefesselt', which provides the basis for the exorcisms performed by Jesus. The aspect of exorcism is taken up further in the articles by Van Oyen, Amirav and Bastiaensen, while Korteweg's article on Justin Martyr addresses the problem of the devil's continuing assault.

Next, Theißen describes various historical trends. He points out that, while the New Testament focuses on present and future, thereby emphatically claiming the end of Satan's reign, subsequent authors were more interested in the origin of evil. Thus, they gradually shifted their focus to the past, to ancient times, or even to 'the time before history began'. Origen, for example, was interested in the pre-existence of souls and believed in the ἀποκατάστασις πάντων, the restoration of all things, as even the devil will be saved. Theißen rightly remarks that the idea of the devil's conversion was never officially acknowledged by the church. Propelled by the belief that the world was created by a good and just God, the search for the origin of evil leaves no room for an independent principle of evil, as it has no place for absolute dualism. Thus, evil must originate from beings that were created and endowed with free will: 'Alles Böse muss daher auf Kreaturen Gottes zurückgehen, denen er Freiheit gegeben hat'. Similar notions occur in the article by Algra within the context of belief in one divine principle of goodness: it is impossible to attribute evil to the Stoic god, which leads to the anchoring of evil in human free will and a belief in providence. Next to a patristic reference to Origen, Theißen includes a reference to the Middle Ages when he describes the dualism of the Cathars in the thirteenth century, a movement mentioned also in the

volume's concluding article by Babette Hellemans. In this way, the author rounds off his historical discussion of the 'devil's career'.

Thereafter Theißen presents the systematic section of his argument. First, he analyzes the idea of 'Selbstapotheose' and the power of repressive political empires. This aspect is important in the context of ancient Christianity, which was defined by the power of the Roman Empire and the demands of the imperial cult. In retrospect, resistance of Christians to such repression has mostly been interpreted in a positive light. Other developments, however, may not be evaluated so positively, for a similar 'demonization', or 'Verteufelung', has led Christians to stigmatize heretics, women and Jews. It is important to see that demonization could serve liberating as well as scapegoating purposes.

A second systematic aspect discussed by Theißen concerns the development of a unified concept of the self ('einheitliches Selbstkonzept'): evil as integrated into the self rather than being projected outwards. This leads him to emphasize the importance of freedom of choice and conversion in Christianity. Often, Satan was seen as the cause of illness, sexual desire and various disruptions in daily life related to travel and relationships. Theißen concludes that through the internalisation of such dualisms (between God and Satan) the inner self of humans became unified ('wird durch die Verinnerlichung dieses Dualismus auch das menschliche Innere "vereinheitlicht"').

The third and last dimension of the devil's potential religio-historical significance relates to the field of religious criticism. Theißen sees the concept of Satan as a functional tool to disclose one of monotheism's inherent dangers, namely the surrender to God which can transform into fanaticism. In a clear case of 'Entdeckersfreude' Theißen refers to this idea of Satan as 'eine Selbstreflexive Religionskritik in mythischer Form', seeing it as the great discovery of his project. To him it represents the central point of his systematic section: Satan 'warnte mit religiösen Mitteln vor der Gefahr der Religion.' Time and again human beings need to ask themselves whether the good they perceive is truly good. Is it a good will which stands behind the origin and workings of the world? Is it a good will which motivates the impulses and thoughts of individual people? And: is it the good God who is revered or has Satan crowned himself to be God over all? Is it the Anti-Christ who claims to be the Redeemer? Are humans taking the place of God, do they become kings in their own lives, when they damage—or even destroy—life? Theißen: 'In der Satansymbolik enthüllt der homo

religiosus seine Gefährdung durch eine latente Zerstörungsmacht in der Religion selbst.'

Towards the end of his article, Theißen connects Satan's loss of influence in the New Testament with Satan's loss of influence in the Enlightenment: the end of Satan imagined and situated in reality is followed by the exile of Satan from the heads of people, as destructive fantasies about Satan are banished. The New Testament and the Enlightenment agree: Satan should have no power over us. But the notion of Satan need not be banned altogether. A poetic role is still in play:

Als poetisches Bild einer religionsimmanenten Aufklärung hat er weiterhin Existenzrecht. Ohne ihn fehlte uns ein starkes Bild, um die abgründige Versuchung der Macht dar zu stellen.

As a symbol Satan continues to flag the dangers of religion's absolutizing tendencies. Therefore Theißen can conclude: 'Die sich verabsolutierende politische und religiöse Macht ist etwas Satanisches.' It is interesting to note that by using the personal pronoun 'us' several times, Theißen shows his own engagement in the debate about Satan and the message it projects. Far from remaining distant and aloof as a scholar, he allows himself to be drawn into the historical and systematic discussions which constitute our theme. In this same sense he also draws us, his readers, into his argument. I will return to the notion of reading as 'a dynamic process involving mutuality' and the idea that 'everything lies in the eyes of the beholder' (quotes from the closing article by Hellemans) at the end of this introduction.

At this point, however, I will address the article by Keimpe Algra on Stoic demonology. Instead of discussing the devil's career from a biblical viewpoint, Algra analyzes the career of the demon within the context of Greek philosophy. His first observation is that Stoic demonology might seem to be a *contradictio in terminis*, since demons generally tend to represent the unknown, whereas Stoic philosophy is based on the idea of 'a single perfectly rational and provident force'. Like Theißen, Algra draws a comparison with the Enlightenment. He refers to Spinoza's philosophy as displaying Stoic traits and rejecting faith in demons. Still, Algra argues that Spinoza and the Stoics should not be identified too hastily: the former saw his own ideas as radically original, while Stoic philosophers aimed at assimilating pre-existing religious and mythical conceptions, trying to forge a link with tradition.

In short, 'they further rationalized and systematized the partially rational aspect of the tradition.' Algra's aim, then, is 'to investigate whether and to what extent anything like an appropriation of parts or aspects of traditional demonology was effected in Stoicism.' With this in mind, he discusses representations of demons in Greek antiquity (1), the ways in which these were incorporated into Stoicism (2), and how this amalgam of ideas evolved in the later phases of antiquity (3).

To start, Algra presents the different forms demons could take on in early Greek thinking, such as beings of non-human origin and human souls living on after death. As was stated above with reference to Petersen's article in *Die Dämonen*, demons could display a variety of characteristics and they could be good, bad or neutral. Sometimes they served to explain the unexpected, at other times they were seen as guiding figures (guardian angels or avenging spirits). Apart from such images, it was believed that 'a man's character/habitus is his demon', which view represents an 'internalizing alternative to traditional conceptions'. Finally, Plato interprets the demon as an 'intermediary and mediator'.

Algra next asks how these notions were integrated into the Stoic philosophical system. In doing so he takes into account that Stoic thinking does not appear to offer room for the Platonic idea of 'mediation', since it does not envisage a chasm between humans and god, or between the physical and the spiritual, the earthly and the divine. The author first considers the notion of 'the internal demon', which provides the best point of contact with the Stoa, as he asks how the 'internal demon' and the 'self' might be related. Are these two entities synonymous or should the 'internal demon' be envisaged as part of the self? The latter position could lead to an interpretation of the 'self' as somehow 'pluralized' with the demon being 'hypostasized'. These ideas concerning the inner self of humans resonate with Theißen's statements about the relativization of the devil by way of a psychological approach ('Vereinheitlichung des menschlichen Inneres') as well as with various ideas in Vos' article on the representation of the souls of saints and the possibility of demonic infiltration. Discussing the 'internal demon' further, Algra wonders how it might be linked to the cosmic god. This immediately raises a related question, namely whether the human soul possesses a certain degree of independence. The author refers to Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus here: 'all things are from god, except what the bad do in their folly', and concludes that 'the Stoic god is not morally responsible for the dealings of souls (and...by extension:

demons)'. Despite the fact that Theißen developed his argument in a different context, namely that of the devil's career in biblical terms, Algra presents here, within the frame of demons in classical Greek thinking, problems which are strikingly similar: to what extent should evil be localized in human beings and to what extent should the cosmic god be blamed for or, respectively, protected from being tainted by evil in the world?

After rounding off the notion of the 'internal demon', Algra moves on to other demonic concepts, namely the soul of the deceased that lives on, and the external demon of non-human origin. In a discussion of the guardian angel he considers the notion of divination, i.e., the reception of special, supernatural knowledge, for instance in dreams. This, I want to add, is also an important ingredient of early Christian stories about saints. Algra refers to Cicero here who describes three ways in which humans can be influenced by the divine: via the inner demon and his connection to the divine realm (1), through external demons (2), directly by the deity (3). To the extent that I can make out, similar representations of revelation play out in early Christianity.

The penultimate segment of Algra's article is devoted to evil demons, a variant by the way which would become dominant in the Christian tradition. Algra briefly considers the notion that the good god would use evil demons in order to punish humans, only to conclude that evidence for this idea is scant in the Stoic tradition. It seems to me that the same can be said about the Christian tradition. Another matter, however, carries more weight. The occurrence of evil demons calls the goodness of the godhead into question and it is asked how divine providence can be reconciled to the activities of demons. It is clear that within the Stoic tradition, as in Christianity, theodicy is the starting point for thinking about demons. Yet this immediately raises the question—similar to the one discussed by Theißen—whether belief in evil powers is not an 'infringement on the overall goodness of the monistically-conceived providential ordering of things'. When evil is not attributed to a separate entity outside the godhead, one has to conclude, as the Stoic philosopher Plutarch does, that 'god must himself be responsible for all these evils.' That the tension between monism and theodicy inspires creative attempts to resolve it becomes apparent when Algra offers a Stoic description of providence based on the work of Chrysippus as mediated by Plutarch. Interestingly, the Stoic description is similar to Origen's later understanding of the paradoxical

synergy of providence and free will: 'god will be able to weave even these evil elements into the overall fabric of his providential design'.

In a concluding section, Algra summarizes his observations, repeating the various aspects of Stoic demonology. He believes that for early Stoic philosophers, demonology was not simply a 'supernatural intrusion of traditional religion in an otherwise naturalistic cosmotheology'. Rather, Stoic philosophers tried to integrate the concept of the demon with the basic structure of Stoic thought, embedding it in their ideas about the physical constellation of the cosmos. For Algra, 'the early Stoics in their own way tried to come up with a rational and "physicalized" demonology'. With reference to this, he suggests that it is not so much Spinoza who resembles the ancient Stoics, but rather those seventeenth-century thinkers 'who tried to integrate the allegedly "preternatural phenomena" of traditional demonology into their physical or metaphysical systems of causation.' Algra concludes that eventually, only the notion of the 'internal demon' survived within Stoicism. The Stoic philosophers of the imperial period were mainly concerned with ethics and opted, as it were, for the 'enlightened position'. Seneca abandoned the idea of the guardian angel and belief in 'divination' came under scrutiny: 'If one takes on the larger, cosmic perspective, it is not quite clear what niche is left for demons anyway in an anthropocentric, providentially ordered cosmos.'

Not unlike Theißen, Algra sketches a career, namely the career of the 'demon' within the Stoic tradition. And, also like Theißen, he draws a comparison between antiquity and the Enlightenment, as the external definition of the demonic comes to an end. With these two articles, the stage has been set for what will follow. The reader has reached the first century CE and has taken notice of the biblical and philosophical conceptions of the demonic. But how will the story continue? The three remaining clusters of articles all concern periods of history situated between antiquity and the Enlightenment: the time of the New Testament, early Christianity, and the Middle Ages. The material in the cluster about the New Testament is not limited to the first century CE, but includes the reception of certain New Testament texts extending as far as the fifth century (Amirav) and the early Middle Ages (Bastiaensen). In this sense, a clear connection exists not only between clusters 2 and 3, but also between clusters 2 and 4: the article by Bartelink about the Missale Gothicum dovetails with the themes and sources with which Bastiaensen ends, namely liturgical references to demons found in sacramentaries. The articles by Otten and Hellemans, which

conclude this volume, link up with notions of 'enlightenment', similar to those first mentioned in the contributions by Theißen and Algra. But the article to be discussed first now is that by Geert van Oyen: 'Demons and Exorcisms in the Gospel of Mark'.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS RECEPTION

Van Oyen takes up an aspect mentioned by Theißen, namely the victory over the devil proclaimed in the New Testament and visualized by the exorcisms of Jesus. As he emphatically states: 'Jesus was an exorcist'. Yet his approach differs markedly from Theißen's. While the latter opted for a historical and systematic perspective, the former works from within the text and uses discourse analysis as his tool. Adhering closely to the structure of the text, Van Oyen takes into account both smaller textual segments and the text as a whole, asking all the time how the reader figures in the interpretive process. He also addresses the 'Enlightenment issue', but in a more critical manner, which is different from Theißen and Algra, as he assumes the 'enlightened', rationalistic readers of the twenty-first century to find it difficult to believe in demons. Still, he argues that within a narrative and non-historical framework, such as the one proposed by him, such reservations need not be a problem: we read the story as story. Letting go of historical questions frees the reader to read with precision.

When asking the question how the demonology of Mark is constructed, Van Oyen answers in relatively straightforward terms. Satan appears in Mark as the leader of a host of demons. It is important to note at this point that, in contradistinction to Theißen's argument, the term $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\beta\circ\lambda\circ\varsigma$ does not occur in the Gospel of Mark. The existence of Satan is merely implied, as a transcendent battle between God and the Enemy is fought, but the unified representation of evil is not named explicitly. In the gospel, we see the battle played out on an earthly level in confrontations between Jesus, the exorcist, and the demons. In contrast to other ancient sources (as has been pointed out before), the devil is a completely negative entity: he generally lives inside human beings, causing illness in their bodies and creating other forms of misery. Mark portrays Jesus as an exorcist, as someone who 'expels' demons and does so mainly by means of the spoken word.

Exorcism is an important theme in Mark's gospel, and is closely connected to the issue of authority. Van Oyen argues that 'the deepest

meaning of the exorcisms is to be found in their relationship with the proclamation of Jesus' identity.' Matters of terminology are discussed and individual pericopes analyzed, after which Van Oyen presents us with the contours of the gospel as a whole. Based on his comments upon shorter passages as well as on the entire composition of the narrative, Van Oyen refers the theme of Jesus' identity in the end back to the active role of the reader. Asking why Jesus does not allow the demons to reveal his true identity, Van Oyen dwells on the paradoxical coincidence of the demons' proclamation of Jesus' identity and Jesus' injunction that they remain silent. After briefly revisiting the familiar theme of Messiasgeheimnis, Van Oyen gives more responsibility to the reader to draw his or her own conclusions: 'It seems the reader may remain fundamentally uncertain about the intention and the true meaning of the confessions by the unclean spirits.' And: 'It is part of the Markan literary strategy to allow for freedom and responsibility on the part of the readers so that they can discover for themselves who Jesus is.' According to Van Oyen, the demons confirm, paradoxically, the identity of Jesus. Simultaneously, however, their confession is unreliable and limited, because they refuse to acknowledge that Jesus' journey is not marked by triumph, but by humility and suffering.

Finally, as a mirror image of the demons representing their Master, Satan, the figure of Jesus always actively implies the presence of God: 'God is the main actor in the story'. But the metaphysical battle between God and Satan, visualized as a 'supernatural combat myth', is never too far removed from the lives of ordinary readers. For Van Oyen, the figure of Christ in Mark is representative of a God 'who is concerned about every human being.' This perspective enables him to conclude: 'Stories about demons are stories about human beings.' As such, demons function as a means to an end: they illuminate the positions of both humanity and God.

The article by Hagit Amirav examines questions concerning the reality of demons and exorcism as an act of magic. Should demons and exorcisms be considered as supernatural occurrences? And does the Christian tradition even allow for magical acts like exorcisms? To answer these questions, Amirav has selected another New Testament source as her starting point, namely the Book of Acts. Methodologically, she does not restrict herself to the material from the New Testament, however, but widens her scope to include the exegetical efforts of the church fathers: how did they interpret a specific pericope in

later centuries? Although Amirav, like Van Oyen, focuses on the rhetorical strategies of the narrators, she approaches the phenomenon of exorcism and the manner in which it comes to the fore in the New Testament, especially in Acts 19, also from a broader sociological and religio-historical perspective. In it Jews, 'pagans', and Christians are all equally involved.

Amirav claims that the passage from Acts 19 'highlights the competition, but also the coexistence and reciprocal flow of ideas between pagans, Jews, and Christians at their highest degree of intensity.' With reference to this, she stresses the importance of the specific form of the exorcistic ritual and the significance of the actual words that were spoken. Rather than dismissing the failed exorcism of Acts 19 as a badly executed ritual, the narrator seems to blame the identity of the exorcists: in this case a group of highly placed Jews functioned as exorcists. Because the exorcism has not worked, it might be argued that the devil has won. Still, according to Amirav the narrator clearly does not want to interpret the event as such, presenting the entire episode instead as a victory of Christ and his apostle Paul. But how is this possible? Here, a paradox similar to that in the article by Van Oyen seems to emerge, as we see an evil power 'confessing' to the truth and power of Christ. Amirav qualifies the result of this confession, namely the mass conversion of the bystanders, as another part of the 'rhetorical puzzle' which the reader needs to solve. Should the mass conversion be interpreted as the 'total rationalization' of the citizens of Ephesus? Or, to use terms employed by Theißen and Algra: have the Ephesians suddenly become 'enlightened'? Amirav clearly does not think so. Her aim is historical rather than theological, as she wants to emphasize the fact that a 'pagan' phenomenon like exorcism was completely accepted by the Christian narrator, even if he simultaneously distances himself from certain pagan practices. He qualifies and sanctions the event by placing it in an explicitly Christian framework.

Amirav subsequently examines the career of this pericope in the history of the church, concluding that it is not impressive. It seems that authors were increasingly embarrassed by this particular passage, which seemed to accept magic without any inhibitions or restrictions. The exegetical comments by Didymus the Blind bring out an idea also found in Van Oyen's argument: 'it is possible for one, like the demon in Acts, to acknowledge Jesus, while not really meaning it'. In this way, the confession by the demon in Acts, like the various demonic confessions in Mark, is relativized. By way of final conclusion, Amirav

states that with reference to the development of early Christianity 'the religious atmosphere... was eclectic and interreligious and social contacts were largely practical and result-oriented.' In the later phases of patristic exegesis 'pagan magic' met with increasing and forceful rejection, a trend which for Amirav corresponds with the development of 'intellectual Christianity'. Thus, we come across notions of 'enlightenment' once again: both in connection with the response of the Ephesians ('total rationalization'?) and the church fathers' reluctance to discuss this passage ('a sense of embarrassment crept into the psyche of the patristic Fathers'). Still, it is interesting to note that Amirav not only emphasizes the development of intellectual forms of Christianity, but resists at the same time the qualification of contemporary Christianity as a kind of enlightenment. As she writes with reference to Acts 19: 'The devil here, as is the case in many Christian congregations to this day, has a full and unquestionable presence; he never ceases to set challenges to mankind.'

The last article in the cluster about the New Testament and its reception was written by Toon Bastiaensen. It opens with the same pericope from Acts 19. If Van Oyen's goal was to state that Jesus was an exorcist and Amirav's to emphasize the exorcistic activities of highly regarded Jewish leaders, Bastiaensen here underlines Paul's role as an exorcist. Discussing the passage from Acts 19, he concludes—like Amirav that Acts 19 presents an example of Jewish exorcists, and—also like Amirav—mentions various patristic exegetes who commented on this text: Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, and Origen. Bastiaensen shares Amirav's observation that Christians, as much as pagans, were involved in exorcisms: 'It appears that everywhere, in- and outside the Catholica, exorcism was a favourite and rewarding pastime.' Next, he defines exorcism in terms of 'battle', referring to both the gospels and the Book of Acts. In this sense, he joins both Van Oyen and Amirav in their choice of textual material. Bastiaensen also mentions other ideas that we have come across before: Van Oyen's definition of exorcism as expulsion and Amirav's emphasis on the correct use of formulas, expressed by the verb *adiuro*. The author follows Van Oyen in stressing the importance of the spoken word in exorcism and refers to the pericope from Acts 19 as a kind of counterfactual. It presents a rare example of the demon(s) and the exorcist(s) ending up in a physical—as opposed to a verbal—struggle.

But Bastiaensen also adds important accents of his own. He poses the question as to how Christians, during those first centuries, were able to integrate the battle against the devil into their daily lives. For despite the 'Überwindung des Teufels', as Theißen called it, the battle between the devil and his demons on the one hand, and God and Christians on the other, was far from over. The Christian, so Bastiaensen explains, was prepared to fight on and was convinced that by doing so he would come to participate in Christ's final victory. As if underlining the democratic effect of the early Christian fight against evil, the author states: 'Driving out the devil and his satellites, the evil spirits, in principle was everybody's business.' Still, from the beginning the church attempted to integrate the expulsion of evil spirits into the life of the church. Thus, the office of exorcist had its place within the hierarchy of the ecclesiastical offices.

After this, Bastiaensen, like Van Oyen, considers the question where demons reside. Where Van Oyen saw demons generally residing in the bodies of humans, Bastiaensen offers two further options. First, he refers to the story about Legion from the Gospel of Mark, in which devils enter into swine and cause these animals to be possessed. A second option concerns how certain objects can also be possessed. Bastiaensen describes how in the Christian tradition material objects could become purified and cleansed from demonic infiltration, for instance water, salt and oil. The ritual of baptism provided an important context for such cleansing rituals.

Bastiaensen describes how conversion, resulting in baptism, meant that an individual 'crossed from the reign of evil to the reign of virtue', and to underscore this the crossing over had to be accompanied by an act of exorcism: the power of the devil had to be broken; the baptizand had to be liberated from demonic influences, before he could join the pure and holy community of the church. In a following section Bastiaensen discusses various terms used in this context. I want to highlight one aspect here, namely the fact that the term *exsufflare*, which refers to the devil being blown out of a person, is the mirror image of the term *insufflare*, which is employed in John 20:22 and expresses how Jesus blows the Holy Spirit into his disciples. The antithetical character of this terminology displays the exact opposition of the devil and the Holy Spirit.

Towards the end of his article, Bastiaensen examines in more detail the place of exorcism in the liturgical tradition, as it has been described

in one of the oldest sacramentaries, the Sacramentarium Gelasianum, which deals with baptism. Both the exorcism of objects, namely of salt and water, and the exorcism of persons, both of men and women, are discussed. In his contribution Bastiaensen elucidates two important and, with a view to the articles mentioned so far, novel aspects. First, the person who experiences exorcism is no longer an exception, an individual possessed, set apart from his fellow citizens and in need of special intervention. Rather, every human being is considered possessed when he comes to the baptismal font and therefore is in need of exorcism. This is why every catechumen has to undergo one or several acts of exorcism. The second aspect takes into account the observation by Amirav that the fathers were embarrassed by the magic implied by exorcism and seemed to display a tendency towards the formation of an intellectual brand of Christianity. Bastiaensen, however, points to a different, perhaps opposing, trend that does not qualify at all as 'silence'. On the contrary, the ritual of exorcism rather than hushed up became embedded in the hierarchical organization and the liturgical tradition of the church. Moreover, exorcism became part of one of the church's two major defining rituals: baptism. Once could say that the specific 'kind of magic' which, according to Amirav's conclusion, the narrator of Acts endorsed, was not just transformed but absorbed into the official teaching of the church.

To these two observations, I want to add one more. While Amirav and in a sense Bastiaensen in the opening section of his article emphasize the fact that the contrast between paganism and Christianity was not always as stark as has sometimes been suggested, with both religious traditions sharing in the same ritual of exorcism, the discussion of the baptismal rite by Bastiaensen reveals how there is an altogether different side to this coin. From the perspective of Christianity, there is not only a growing distance towards paganism, which Amirav observes also, but the picture seems to be much more radical: paganism *is* the devil and from this evil the baptizand must be liberated. Why is it necessary that he receives an exorcism at his baptism? Because he needs to cross over from the realm of darkness into the realm of light, paganism itself has to be 'expelled'. And this, in its trail, entails the demonization of the entire pagan world.

On this note, I round off my discussion of the second cluster of articles, while moving one to the third on ancient Christianity. The first contribution is by Theodoor Korteweg who examines Justin Martyr and the role of demons in his view of the world.

ANCIENT CHRISTIANITY

Korteweg opens with the statement that in handbooks Justin is often wrongfully depicted as an enlightened philosopher who aimed at dialogue and harmony with the Greek philosophical tradition. Resisting this representation of Justin as a humanist avant la lettre, Korteweg contrasts it with a different image, one which coheres with the above discussion of Bastiaensen's contribution. He sees Justin as a 'herald and witness to the truth in a world that was not only dominated, but even bewitched by demons and therefore irrevocably bound to its destruction, although for those who converted in time salvation was still possible.' Thus, according to Korteweg, Justin was not so much 'the thinker who introduced intellectualism into the Christian world', but rather 'a champion-fighter against a demonized universe and a demonized culture'. The demons have enslaved humanity since the beginning of time, but thanks to Christ's victory on the cross their power has been broken and a process of final and complete destruction set in motion. The demons 'tremble' (φρίσσειν) before the cross, which refers to a pre-existing notion whereby the 'trembling' of the demons is connected to the victory on the cross. In this victory the baptized may participate. When the baptizand rises from the water, he is seen to be a 'lord over the unclean spirits', as Korteweg cites the Excerpta ex Theodoto. As in the article by Bastiaensen, the rite of baptism plays a major role in Korteweg's contribution. About the relationship between Christ's victory on the cross and the fact that this salvific act concerns the individual believer, Korteweg writes: 'It is remarkable to see how often in Justin Christ's actual victory on the one hand, and his followers' conversion to Christianity and the exorcistic power that goes with it on the other, converge into a single perspective.' The author states: 'conversion, baptism, and exorcism realize for the individual believer...the decisive event in salvation history: Christ's victory over the demons on the cross.'

Apart from the terminology of 'φρίσσειν', another semantic field that is much in play in Justin is that of 'light'. The light that appears has both cosmic and individual connotations: it 'destroys the reign of "fate"' and 'the light enters "the very depths of heart and mind", it shines in "our rational part"'. Another link with the baptismal ritual emerges here, for Justin defines baptism as 'enlightenment' (φωτισμός). According to Justin, the baptized person is transferred from the realm of demonic domination, where the force of fate is reigning, to the

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domain of freedom, in which the Christian may live under the providential protection of God. Up to this point, Korteweg's descriptions resonate with Bastiaensen's points, but in what follows the author—treading in Justin's footsteps—places other emphases.

Taking up an aspect already mentioned by Bastiaensen, but not examined by him as extensively, Korteweg highlights the fact that the Christian is still subject to demonic attack, especially persecution, even after baptism. The fact that the Christian may share in the victory of Christ and may be transferred to the realm of freedom, but has not thereby become immune to suffering is a painful realization for Justin, which becomes an explicit theme in his work. He acknowledges that the demons are still active and that they harbour especially vengeful thoughts against the Christians. In a sense, their ancient power is still functioning, despite the fact that, as Justin believes (e.g., on the basis of the exorcisms performed by Christians), the demons will eventually be thrown into the eternal fire of hell. As Korteweg states: 'Justin and his fellow Christians saw themselves still confronted with a demon-ridden universe, in which they had to experience the demonic power in their bodies'. How are Christians to cope with this?

At this point, Korteweg finally turns to the Justinian themes of knowledge and enlightenment, thereby creating room for the image of 'Justin the Philosopher'. But contrary to his dominant reputation as a philosopher, Justin does not elaborate these themes in a speculative or Hellenizing manner. Rather, he is concerned with a kind of rationality which 'elevates the believer above the current universe dominated by demons by enlightening his mind'. The terminology of 'light' is significant here. According to Joseph Ysebaert, another prominent member of the Society who died since the last published proceedings, it is found 'in more educated authors who connect the enlightenment received in baptism with the mind's advance in the knowledge of God.' The core of such enlightened knowledge for Justin is monotheistic: 'the one and only true God…disposes of everything, including the demons and their realm.'

When we assess Korteweg's argument, we see strong links with the articles considered so far. The article by Algra contributes to an appreciation of the Stoic influences in Justin, while the contribution by Theißen points to the importance of 'salvation history' and a monotheistic conception of the deity when approaching the devil and his demons from a biblical viewpoint. Van Oyen fleshes out the importance of exorcism, with Amirav and Bastiaensen following this lead; the latter two mention Justin explicitly. Bastiaensen broadens the scope of 'exorcism' to concern every human being who is converted and baptized. A similar line of argument, by which the entire world is presented as a 'demon-ridden universe' with baptism marking the transition from demonic darkness to light, is dominant in Korteweg's article on Justin. In addition, however, he reflects on the continuous violence to which the Christian is exposed and the 'weapon' Justin introduces in the form of the enlightened mind. For Korteweg Justin leaves indeed room for 'enlightenment', but this is 'enlightenment' without intellectualistic connotations. In view of this, the author cites Chadwick who characterized Justin's theology as 'free from any breath of demythologization'. Eventually, so Korteweg concludes, 'it is the Logos that makes life in a demon-ridden universe at least bearable.'

The next contribution in the cluster on ancient Christianity is by Nienke Vos. In her article, ample references are made to the background of Stoic philosophy. The theme of this article links up with the piece on Justin in that it also addresses the notion of continuous demonic attack. While Justin is mainly concerned with the external dimension of these attacks—the Christian is exposed to them to the extent that he suffers—, Vos probes deeper as she analyzes the ways in which demons are represented in stories about saints: are they conceived as external or internal forces? To address this question, Vos presents us with two case studies, treating one extensively, and the other succinctly. In both cases, a hagiographical text is juxtaposed with 'first hand' information from a collection of letters and sayings. In succession, the Vita Antonii, the letters of Antony, the Vita Macrinae and sayings of amma Syncletica are discussed. In the context of the first case, on abba Antony, Vos elaborately evaluates several contributions by contemporary scholars (David Brakke, Michel Rene Barnes, Samuel Rubenson and Christopher Gill), as she brings the ways in which the demons are represented in the ancient sources to bear on conceptions of the soul, holiness, the notions of 'development' and 'internal conflict'.

In the article's first part, Vos considers the *Life of Antony* under the following themes: the absence of the devil in the opening chapters, his multiform appearances, and the various stages of the saint's development. After reflecting on the *Vita Antonii*'s first, narrative chapters, she focuses on the saint's discourse in chapters 16–43. Various aspects of this long speech are discussed: discernment, purity, power

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and exorcism. Brakke's recent interpretation of the *Vita* emphasizes the Stoic perspective. Unlike Algra, he does not go into Stoic demonology but highlights instead Stoicism's 'holistic' view of personhood whereby impressions 'coming from outside' are filtered. Brakke sees parallels here with how in the *Vita Antonii* the demons are 'coming from outside'. It becomes apparent, however, that Brakke's focus on an external interpretation of demonic activity, in conjunction with a Stoic anthropology, can only yield a rather static view of the saint's holiness.

Next, Vos compares the Vita by Athanasius to Antony's own letters, especially Letter 6, in which ample references are made to demons. The representation of evil forces in the letters varies significantly from their portrayal in the *Vita*: they are invisible creatures, primarily located inside human beings. In this section, Vos also addresses the views of Brakke, Barnes and Rubenson and with respect to each tries to clarify on which points she agrees or disagrees. In elucidating her own position she comes to endorse a reading of the Antonian material along Platonic lines and—similar to Van Oyen—advocates that special attention be given to the role of the reader. In her opinion, hagiographical sources require a dynamic approach to 'demons, the saint, and the soul', since a static portraval of the saint would obviate the reader's identification with him and hence fail to inspire moral action. In order to flesh out her argument more, Vos includes an excursus in which she discusses the work of Christopher Gill. The analyses by Brakke and Barnes are further contextualized by Gill's approach, as the notions of 'development' and 'internal conflict' are considered from Gill's Stoic point of view.

After ample discussion about Antony, Vos centres on a second case for purposes of comparison. In this part of the article, no elaborate discussion of secondary material is included, but the focus remains on the representation of the devil and the demons. Linking this theme to the way in which the saint's development is envisaged, Vos asks again how the emerging picture relates to the position of the reader. In a concluding passage, she deems it unnecessary to choose between an external or an internal perspective, as early Christian authors paint a picture in which the demons and the devil are characterized as both external and internal forces. Vos emphasizes how demons fulfill a necessary role in stories about saints, as without them the battle between good and evil can only be portrayed inadequately. For the saint's story to be effective on the reader, it has to provide room for development;

hence the saint may suffer from what we would nowadays call 'internal conflict'. In light of this, Vos holds that a Platonic interpretation of the soul offers the most coherent reading of these texts.

While Vos reflected on whether demons are internal or external beings, Boudewijn Dehandschutter analyzes the 'internal demon' within the framework of Messalianism. In this sense, the contribution by Vos, comprising both the external and the internal perspective, functions as a kind of bridge: between Korteweg who focused on the external machinations of the demons and Dehandschutter who considers their internal workings. Another shift was foreboded already by Theißen: from Korteweg who portrayed Justin's demons as characters within the context of salvation history, focusing on present and future, to Dehandschutter, who turns his attention to the distant past, to questions concerning the origin of evil and the notion of creation.

As said, Dehandschutter considers the presence of a demon inside human beings within the context of Messalianism. This was an early Christian movement which many ancient sources condemned as 'heretical', while contemporary scholarship, considering early Christianity no longer a monolithic and orthodox unity, sees it as one form of Christianity among many. Historically, however, Messalianism is difficult to situate, because the sources are late and often disputed. Dehandschutter starts out by elaborating on the problem of the sources. Thereafter he analyzes the theme of 'demons among the Messalians' on the basis of a fifth-century text: the Ecclesiastical History by Theodoret of Cyrus. In one particular passage Theodoret narrates how an old Messalian leader, Adelphius, explains his 'heretical' ideas: the baptized do not receive special benefits on account of baptism. Instead, every human being is born as a slave to the demons and evil demons can only be expelled by prayer. Once they are expelled, the Holy Spirit comes, confirming his presence by visible signs, whereby the body becomes liberated from the passions. Fasting and moral teachings are no longer needed, and purity of the body leads to special knowledge of the future.

In what follows, Dehandschutter proceeds to emphasize one particular aspect of the selected Theodoret passage: the presence of an internal demon in the nature of humans. In this respect, the Greek term 'ἐνοικεῖν' is significant, as it points to the fact that demons can live inside of a person. According to Dehandschutter, the Messalian position is especially striking because it does not envisage the fall of

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Adam as the root of all evil. Rather, the Messalians develop their own original ideas: an 'indwelling' demon is present on the grounds of natural, creaturely existence as such, apart from any potential fall of Adam.

To further substantiate his claims concerning Messalian demonology, Dehandschutter presents various Gnostic texts that seem to suggest a similar background. Thus, he discusses the Valentinian concept that the demiurge created the human body from 'diabolical' matter, in which the soul, the soul and demons, or the soul and the *logoi* could all reside. Furthermore, a Gnostic interpretation of Genesis 2 could give rise to the idea that the material nature of the body was integrally connected to the demonic. In that case, the psychic human lives inside a body that is material and corruptible, formed from 'diabolical' $o\mathring{v}o\mathring{t}o$. In Irenaeus, other, specific material substances are mentioned from which humans are created, namely the three passions of *timor*, *tristitia* and *aporia*. On the basis of Irenaeus' rendering of Ptolemy, it becomes apparent that *tristitia* is responsible for bringing forth evil spirits.

In the context of Dehandschutter's discussion of the Apocryphon of John, another link with the Stoa becomes clear, this time with the Stoic theory of the affections. Human beings are seen as guided by the "demon" of lust, desire, regret, and fear.' In view of this, Dehandschutter refers to a study by Takashi Onuki: Gnosis und Stoa. The point that the author wants to make on the basis of such early Christian texts as mentioned above, is to make us aware that a complex of ideas was developed which served to integrate the (co-)operation of demons with the creation of humanity. Apparently, demons were not believed to have become active only after Adam had fallen, but they were seen to have been present already at the process of his creation, which to them was not authored by God but by a demiurge. Dehandschutter: '[t]he "Gnostic" concept puts creation directly in the hands of the demiurge; and it is this fact that explains the action of the passions and the inclination to evil.' The process that Dehandschutter describes implies a 'demonologisation of the affections'.

Towards the end of his contribution, Dehandschutter links the Gnostic texts he has commented upon back to the passage about the Messalians from Theodoret's *Church History*. He presents the Messalian view by laying out its constitutive steps. First, an anthropology is in place which connects the demons to the affects. This means that the negative position in which a human being finds himself based on his creaturely existence, must next be corrected from 'the outside' by

means of a positive, 'pneumatic' force that is not linked to the sacrament of baptism, as in the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* or the theology of Justin. Furthermore, while early Christian authors from the main tradition of the church tend to stress the fact that Christians should benefit from spiritual guidance also after baptism, Messalians hold a rather different position: everything should be expected from the power of prayer and the coming of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the author can end his article on the following note: 'the Messalian is the pneumatic *par excellence*.'

Dehandschutter's article concludes the volume's third cluster of articles on ancient Christianity, as we move on to the fourth and final part concerning medieval Christianity.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY

The contribution by Gerard Bartelink opens this final cluster of articles. In terms of source material, his article is closely related to that of Bastiaensen. While the latter addressed the function of exorcism in the baptismal liturgy of the old *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, Bartelink concentrates on a similar but later liturgical source: the *Missale Gothicum*, dated around 700 CE. Bartelink's approach is original: he discusses the various terms by which the formulas of prayer refer to the devil and his demons. In the introduction, he explains that references to the devil and his allies occur especially in texts related to Easter and the feasts of the martyrs. This is not surprising when one considers the fact that at Easter the victory of Christ over the devil was commemorated. Martyrdom was envisaged as a battle fought against the demons in which the martyrs participated through their suffering so as to share eventually in the victory of Christ. This notion of victory is also dominant in Korteweg's article on Justin.

Bartelink's contribution emphasizes important literary aspects, as he discusses various figures of style: antithesis, parallelism and *variatio*. The figure of antithesis is used especially to highlight the theological opposition between good and evil powers, underlining it rhetorically. In the texts under consideration the contrast between good and evil is usually portrayed more visually as one between the devil and Christ or the martyr.

Subsequently, Bartelink groups the different names ('denominations') by which the devil is known. Despite his emphasis on liturgical

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sources, he allows the terminological discussion to open up a debate on other materials as well: the Bible, biblical epic, poetry, sermons, etc.

At times, Bartelink's analyses of specific terms invite connections with the broader multifaceted context of 'the devil and his demons' presented in this volume. The term adversarius (adversary), for example, leads to a comment on the danger of a 'dualistically coloured sphere', while the discussion of cotidianus hostis (daily enemy) points to a Sitz im Leben in ascetic literature. Additionally, the phrase devorator animarum (devourer of souls) inspires a reference to the idea that the devil was deceived by Christ's incarnation and passion. By unjustly capturing the body of Christ, the devil was caught like a fish by the barbed hook of divinity, which inaugurated his demise. The victory-motif is also present when the term *leo* (lion) is explained. Other familiar motifs include: the contrast between angels and demons and the serpent as a symbol of the devil. The latter is discussed in the context of the fall in paradise, the role of Eve, and the typology of Eve and Mary. Sometimes Bartelink's discussions involve examples of early patristic exegesis that are particularly imaginative, for instance, in the case of David and Goliath as representing Christ and the devil respectively.

Towards the end of his article, Bartelink mentions one final aspect of demonic vocabulary in the missal: the works of the devil and the demons are generally referred to as *opera* (works) or *insidiae* (snares). But by this time the reader will have been alerted sufficiently to the fact that in medieval Christianity the devil can be represented by a great variety of names and images.

To discuss the second article in the cluster on medieval Christianity, we need to travel two centuries in time, but will be dealing with an entirely different textual genre. From the field of liturgy and prayer we switch to a philosophical and theological dialogue, in which the emphasis is not on *variatio* but on the fundamental notion of unity, expressed by the double concept of 'procession and return'. In her article Willemien Otten discusses the *Periphyseon* by Scottus Eriugena, written in the ninth century. The work became the subject of controversy in the thirteenth century, and was condemned by pope Honorius III in 1225. In Otten's opinion, an analysis of Eriugena's ideas on demons offers an opportunity to relate the patristic period to the High Middle Ages. Aware of the fact that the modern reader may regard demons as too far removed from today's experience, Otten explains

how demonological disussions can be indicative of important social and religious developments.

The author argues that medieval demons were seen as 'inhabiting bodies'. By this she does not mean, in contradistinction to Van Oyen and Bastiaensen, that demons entered the bodies of human beings who became possessed as a result, but rather that demons were in the possession of a particular kind of body. In view of this, I refer to the discourse on demons in the *Vita Antonii* (chs. 16–43), in which the thin and tenuous nature of demons' bodies is addressed: it enabled them, for instance, to travel faster than humans. The demons, according to Otten, were seen as a threat because they could undermine the self-control and ascetic concentration of the faithful. In her article, Otten first considers various recent interpretations of Eriugena's work, in which connections are forged between demons and the conceptualization of the body. She uses these as a springboard for her own interpretation of Eriugena's demonology, which she analyzes in the main part of the article, placing it within the overarching framework of the *Periphyseon*.

Eriugena's treatment of the demons (in book V of the *Periphyseon*) is set in the context of the so-called return, the movement of reditus by which everything that has been created by God must return to its Creator through the same stages. This process hence forms a diptych with the processio, the unfolding, which was the subject of books I-III. Otten calls attention to the surprising notion that in the *Periphyseon* the reditus starts already with the creation of humanity, after which the fall has still to occur. This seems to suggest that the deck is stacked and the return cannot fail for Eriugena. A correspondingly central role in the return is afforded to the motif of incarnation, by which humanity in its entirety, and by implication creation as a whole, is ultimately saved. In sum, reditus involves a process that can be described as follows: 'Even irrational and sensible natures will ultimately pass into the nature of man....[T]he Master draws an analogy with the lower parts of humanity itself, which tend upwards to achieve oneness with the parts of superior likeness, thus specifying return as ascent.' In addition, Otten states that the 'passions' can be trained and transformed into 'virtues', thus following up on insights found also in the articles by Vos and Dehandschutter. Eventually, humanity will return to the original 'virtuous state' of Adam before the fall. But this has yet to occur and meanwhile the Master and the Student are still engaged in their dialogue, debating evil and the punishment of evil. Is it possible that human beings will be punished in eternity, doomed forever? 32 NIENKE VOS

Within the system that Eriugena lays out, the final answer must be negative: 'since nothing is co-eternal with God, nothing exists which can remain in permanent opposition to the divine goodness, life and blessedness.' Once more we come up against the point made earlier by Theißen that the occurrence of evil within monotheism is problematic and that dualism is not an option.

Eriugena claims that evil has no cause and therefore does not truly belong to the realm of created natures. He relies on Origen when he distinguishes between the substance of a demon, created by God and thus intrinsically good, and the evil present in their wills. Following another Greek-Platonic author, Dionysius the Areopagite, Eriugena states that the demons are considered evil on the basis of 'what they are not'. Otten emphasizes that in the eyes of Eriugena, 'evil has no substantial existence'. Therefore he is able to write: '... only nature shall rise again, but evil and wickedness shall perish in eternal damnation.' And: 'For when the mutability of fleshy birth and passing away shall have to come to an end, wherein shall be found the power of the Ancient Enemy? Nowhere.'

When Otten, in the third section of her article, places matters into the perspective of Eriugena's overarching narrative of procession and return, it becomes apparent that his approach differs from both Origen and Gregory of Nyssa on the one hand, and from the Messalian position on the other: the human body is neither a result, nor a cause of sin. For Eriugena contends: 'Not sin but nature has made man an animal.' And Otten comments: 'Rather than seeing humanity in a kind of limbo, suspended between the material and the spiritual, for Eriugena it is more accurate to see the whole of humanity, its animal being and its character as image of God, on its way from procession to return.' Eventually she concludes: 'demons at no point seem to play a major part.' In a sense, for Eriugena the question of their existence is 'indifferent', 'since in line with his general theodicy all created substance must be redeemed.'

When we take into consideration Theißen's opening contribution in this volume, two assessments can be made. First, it is clear that Otten's discussion of Eriugena points to similar connections between the theodicy debate and views of the demonic. As the *reditus* must succeed, so the demonic nature must be forced out. Secondly, in Eriugena a farreaching integration seems to be accomplished of what Theißen refers to as the dimensions of past, present and future. In conclusion, I offer Otten's definition, radically different from that of other contempo-

rary interpreters of the medieval thinker, of what she considers to be Eriugena's most important contribution to the debate on the demonic: 'the radical disembodiment of hell.' Although Otten does not discuss the theme of enlightenment, it seems fair to say that Eriugena holds to an enlightened view of hell and evil.

The final article to be discussed within the cluster of medieval Christianity, which also completes the volume as a whole, is by Babette Hellemans. After the impressive construction of Eriugena's Periphyseon, composed in the ninth century and subjected to scrutiny in the thirteenth, Hellemans puts the spotlight on another thirteenth-century masterpiece: the richly illustrated Bibles named Bibles Moralisées. When we keep the other two contributions on medieval Christianity in mind, it becomes apparent that Hellemans' approach converges with that of both Bartelink and Otten, With Otten, Hellemans shares a more abstract and theoretical stance, while in connection to Bartelink two observations can be made: Hellemans employs the notion of 'variety', or—in her words—'multiformity', while taking the notion of antithesis to a new level. How so? In her introduction, she addresses the theoretical debate on the definition of good and evil by reminding the reader that such definitions are never isolated and absolute. Rather, these contrasting concepts are mutually implied and reciprocally defined, not unlike Eriugena's procession and return. Hellemans: 'evil always constitutes a secret homage to beauty.' She approaches the devil as a figure who represents 'evil' in a general and multiform sense and emphasizes the fact that the two categories are 'as much intermingled as they are ultimately opposed.' She also makes the important point, similar to Vos, that from the beginning of Christianity 'the devil was necessary...to fight heresy, especially dualism.' She ends the first paragraph of her article with the important observation that evil is 'very much in the eye of the beholder: he is a spiritus multiformis.'

Hellemans' aim is not to draw attention to the depiction of the devil as a concrete monster, but to focus her interest in evil elsewhere. Thus she comes to highlight the notion of *horror vacui*, which leaps from the richly illustrated pages of the *Bibles Moralisées*. In order to make her point, she includes several instructive and illuminating passages. First, she addresses the nature of medieval reading, which is not so much a discursive process, moving from beginning to end and producing a 'fixed imagination of the devil', but rather a 'dynamic process involving mutuality.' These thirteenth-century illustrated Bibles add

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yet another dimension to the theme of 'reading' by incorporating both images and text. As such, reading and viewing merge, which Hellemans relates back to the context in which these Bibles were produced: the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 with its attention paid to heresy, the emerging mendicant orders, the centrality of the Eucharist and the emphasis on orthodoxy in general. Thus, it is indeed possible to see 'literal' depictions of evil in the Bibles, for example when pictures of heretics are included. But again: this is not the notion of evil she considers central to the Bible Moralisée. Her search for the devil, so to speak, implies a specific kind of reading of these Bibles, what she calls 'the bird's eye view'. By this she means to say that the reader has 'to understand something of the world behind the scenery, as made flesh in it'. For indeed, the pictures and texts in themselves are, as Hellemans claims, 'essentially indecisive'. They can only be read and interpreted in context: they need to be framed historically (or, perhaps one should say, 'fleshed out'). In addition, she writes: 'representations of evil are a concentration of that society's dynamics.'

Thus, we need to frame the production of these Bibles historically rather than read their individual images literally, and this evokes Hellemans' second instructive and illuminating passage, namely on the eucharistic discussions of the Middle Ages. The function of this passage is that it enables the author to address the thematic cluster of incarnation, the body and materiality, the soul and original sin, the Eucharist and attendant notions such as transsubstantiation and fragmentation. She mentions 'the problem of the proliferation of images' and aims at understanding 'the fear of emptiness behind the symbol'. In her opinion, a 'fear of transformation' was in play, which 'might well lead to a terror of disintegration.' This is one way to view the Bibles: interpreting the thousands of images as 'a genuine case of horror vacui'. For 'lack of shape' was interpreted as 'diabolic horror, since the notion of void could not possibly exist in the world of plenitude created by God.' The Bibles appear to reflect various, sometimes seemingly opposing, tendencies, which spring from the breeding ground of their historical context: in them, a world is enfleshed, incarnated so to speak, while at the same time the fear of fragmentation is rampant. It seems to me that in this case the 'proliferation of the images' functions as a tool to exorcise the fear of the void.

To round off my summary and discussion of this article, I include Hellemans' own words once more: 'The *Bibles Moralisées* tell the history of salvation in constant variations, in different settings of time and space. There is no plot and there is no specific reason why the story of salvation should not be continued.' Every episode depicted 'recounts the shortcomings of earthly temporality in the *condition humaine*.' This multiformity contributes to the sense of indecisiveness, experienced by the reader/viewer: 'the knowledge of this book...is open to interpretation.' Moreover, the multiformity it represents permanently implies the multiformity of its 'anti-symbol', the devil or evil. Hellemans: 'The devil has the shape of an ever-changing shadow—a *spiritus multiformis*.'

Therefore, while Otten points to Eriugena's original and important contribution as 'the radical disembodiment of hell', I believe that Hellemans introduces another, equally significant, idea: radical disembodiment *as* hell. From the latter perspective there is no better medieval antidote to evil than to read the rich illustrations of the *Bibles Moralisées*

One last time, I call the article by Theißen to mind, for when Hellemans states that she aims 'to investigate the symbolic nature of the devil' the content of her contribution converges with that of Theißen, who also, at the end of his investigative journey, felt compelled to leave the 'reality' of the devil behind in a process of 'enlightenment', only to find him again on a symbolic level: as an instrument of social and religious criticism. Thus, the end of the volume circles back to its beginning.

I guess that only one voice is able to capture this movement best—indeed—, that of T.S. Eliot:

We shall not cease from exploration And the end of all our exploring Will be to arrive where we started And know the place for the first time. Through the unknown, unremembered gate When the last of earth left to discover Is that which was the beginning; At the source of the longest river The voice of the hidden waterfall And the children in the apple-tree Not known, because not looked for But heard, half-heard, in the stillness Between two waves of the sea. Quick now, here, now, always— A condition of complete simplicity (Costing not less than everything)

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And all shall be well and All manner of thing shall be well When the tongues of flame are in-folded Into the crowned knot of fire And the fire and the rose are one.²¹

Indeed, we have come to the end of our journey. We have traced our theme through different eras, contexts and genres, often confronted by a movement of dialectics: the biblical versus the philosophical, the devil versus demons, the possessed individual versus the possessed cosmos, protection versus ongoing attack, baptism versus prayer, the material versus the spiritual, beginning versus end, literal versus metaphorical, oneness versus multiformity, reality versus symbolism, fullness versus void, etc.

It has become clear that the Christian tradition needs representations of evil in order to make its point of salvation. It has also become apparent that many representations of evil rise from the notion of theodicy. Full-blown dualism, however, is always prevented by the fundamental concept of monotheism and belief in the victory of Christ. Still, although Christians believed they could participate in that victory, the battle against the demons continued in the experience of every day, and exorcism was needed. While realistic representations of the devil never ceased to exist, the career of the devil underwent a steady pull towards enlightenment. This notion of enlightenment already plays a significant role in the two opening articles and continues to exert its influence in the course of this collection. In the end, despite the familiar picture of the Middle Ages as an era in which the miraculous and the demonic abound, another trail comes to the fore: that of an increased abstraction from the concrete machinations of the devil and his demons. Thus, the concept of enlightenment functions as a hermeneutical key to this volume. Finally, as I come to the end of my introduction, summary and reflection, I invite the reader, in the words of Babette Hellemans, to his or her own 'dynamic process' of reading, in which everything is—ultimately—'in the eye of the beholder'.

²¹ From *The Four Quartets*, Little Gidding (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1943).

MONOTHEISMUS UND TEUFELSGLAUBE: ENTSTEHUNG UND PSYCHOLOGIE DES BIBLISCHEN SATANSMYTHOS

Gerd Theißen

Dämonenglaube gibt es überall auf der Welt, einen Satan als Gegenspieler Gottes¹ aber nur in den monotheistischen Religionen des Westens mit einer Analogie im Buddhismus als östlicher Erlösungsreligion.² Das Christentum gehört als monotheistische Erlösungsreligion beiden Religionsgruppen an—und daher existiert der Satan in ihm besonders intensiv. Seine Existenz ist im Welt-, Menschen- und Gottesverständnis dieser Religionen begründet.

Der erste Grund ist die Notwendigkeit, das Böse in der Welt zu erklären. Es gibt im Monotheismus dazu drei Möglichkeiten. Entweder ist Gott, der Mensch oder ein dritter Faktor, der Satan als personifizierte Widerwärtigkeit der Welt, seine Ursache. Je positiver über Gott gedacht wird, je weniger das Böse auf den Menschen zurückgeführt wird, umso

¹ Grundlegend: H. Haag, Teufelsglaube (Tübingen: Katzmann, 1974) (darin Beiträge von K. Elliger, B. Lang, M. Limbeck); ders.: ,Der Teufel im Judentum und Christentum, Saeculum 34 (1983) 248-256. J.B. Russell, The Devil: Perception of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977); ders.: Satan: The Early Christian Tradition (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981); H.A. Kelly, Satan. A Biography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Literaturwissenschaftlich orientiert ist: N. Forsyth, The Öld Enemy. Satan and the Combat Myth (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). Religionswissenschaftlich ist: A. di Nola, Der Teufel. Wesen, Wirkung und Geschichte (ital. 1987; München: Diederichs Verlag, 1990). Sozialgeschichtlich argumentiert E. Pagels, Satans Ursprung (engl. 1995; Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 1996). Allgemeinverständlich, aber manchmal populistisch ist: K. Berger, Wozu ist der Teufel da? (Stuttgart: Quell Verlag, 1998). Von den wissenschaftlichen Handbuchartikeln seien genannt: A. Shama, Art. ,Devils, EncRel 4, ed. M. Eliade (New York: MacMillan, 1987), 319-321; C. Breytenbach/P.L. Day, Art. Satan, in DDD, ed. B. Becking, P.W. van der Horst, K. van der Toorn, (Leiden: Brill 1995), 1369-1380; S.J. Riley, Art. ,Devil, 'DDD, 460-479; W. Klein/K. Nielsen/ O. Böcher/G. Reeg/H.A. Kelly/J. Track/H. Streib/O. Böcher, Art. , Teufel, 'TRE 33, ed.

H.R. Balz et al. (Berlin: De Guyter, 2002), 113–147 (Lit.!).

² Wenn man die Einteilung der Religionen in Versöhnungs- und Erlösungsreligionen zugrunde legt, die Th. Sundermeier, "Erlösung oder Versöhnung? Religionswissenschaftliche Anstöße," EvTh 53 (1993) 124–146, eingeführt hat, dann gehören Judentum und Islam zu den Versöhnungsreligionen, die ein soziales Zusammenleben in dieser Welt anstreben, der Buddhismus aber wäre eine reine Erlösungsreligion, die das Heil jenseits dieser Welt sucht, das Urchristentum aber hat teil an beiden Religionstypen.

mehr wird dieser "dritte Faktor" zur Erklärung beansprucht. Der erste Grund für die Existenz des Satans ist daher das Theodizeeproblem. Der Satan soll in allen drei monotheistischen Religionen des Westens, im Judentum, Christentum und Islam, das Böse in der Welt erklären. Deswegen wurde er schon früh mit dem Einbruch des Bösen in die Welt im Sündenfall verbunden, obwohl es in Gen 2 keinen Hinweis auf den Satan gibt. Doch erklärt das Theodizeeproblem nicht die Konzentration des Bösen in einer einzigen Gestalt. Man könnte auch eine Vielzahl von Dämonen für das Böse verantwortlich machen—gerade in Kontrast zu dem einen Gott als Ursache des Guten.

Ein zweiter Grund ergibt sich daraus, dass der Satan die Situation des unerlösten *Menschen* darstellt. Im Christentum begegnet er möglicherweise in der Vaterunserbitte: "Und erlöse uns vom Bösen".³ Im Buddhismus verursacht Mara, der Herr böser Geistwesen, den Tod und repräsentiert Lebensdurst und Leidenschaften, die den Weg zur Erleuchtung versperren. Jesus wie Buddha werden vom Teufel bzw. von Mara versucht.⁴ Aber Mara dient nicht der Rechtfertigung von Welt und Gott. Im Gegenteil, er symbolisiert die Notwendigkeit, sich von dieser Welt des Leidens zu befreien. Der zweite Grund für die Existenz des Satans ist daher der Erlösungsgedanke: Der Satan aktiviert alle Kräfte im Menschen, das Böse zu überwinden, sich entweder von seiner verblendenden Macht loszusagen oder zwischen Gott und dem Bösen zu entscheiden. Aber auch hier gilt: Im Prinzip könnte eine Erlösungsreligion mit einer Pluralität böser Mächten auskommen, um im Kontrast die Erlösung durch den einen Gott oder die eine Erleuchtung darzustellen.

Erst der dritte Grund gibt dem Satan Existenznotwendigkeit. Der Satan ist im Monotheismus ein Spiegelbild des einen und einzigen Gottes. Die Konzentration des Göttlichen in einem Gott zog die Konzentration des Bösen in einer einzigen Gestalt nach sich. Dabei ist die Existenz des Satans im Monotheismus eigentlich systemwidrig. Wenn Gott alles geschaffen hat, kann es keine von Gott unabhängige Macht geben. Auf einer höheren (sozusagen metasprachlichen Ebene) ist der Satan dagegen im Monotheismus systemerhellend. In ihm wird er

³ Ursprünglich denkt das Vaterunser nicht an den Satan: "Der Böse" ist keine feste Teufelsbezeichnung im Judentum; die ältesten Deutungen des Vaterunsers wie in *Did* 10.5: "Gedenke Herr, deiner Kirche, dass du sie bewahrst vor allem Bösen" deuten (mit Rückbezug auf das Vaterunser in *Did* 8.2) neutral. Vgl. 2 Tim 4:18. U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (Mt1–7)*, EKK I/1, Neukirchen:. Neukirchener Verlag, ²2002, 454.

⁴ J.W. Boyd, Satan and Māra. Christian and Buddhist Symbols of Evil, SHR 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1975). H. Windisch, Māra und Buddha (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895).

sich seiner inneren Gefährdung bewusst. Der Satan ist das täuschende Spiegelbild Gottes. Jederzeit kann sich die Verehrung des einen Gottes in einen destruktiven Glauben verkehren. Wenn man den einen Gott verehrt, muss man daher immer prüfen, ob man nicht in Wirklichkeit dem Satan auf die Schliche gegangen ist. Urszene dafür ist die Versuchungsgeschichte Jesu, in der sich der Satan an der Stelle Gottes verehren lassen will. Der Satan repräsentiert eine Selbstreflexion des Monotheismus in mythischer Form.

Im Neuen Testament ist seine Realität selbstverständlich. Aber entscheidend ist die Botschaft vom Ende seiner Macht: "Christus ist gekommen, die Werke des Teufels zu zerstören" (1 Joh 3:8). Die Welt soll satansfrei werden. Auch für die spätere Kirchengeschichte gilt: Christen glaubten nicht *an* den Satan, sondern *gegen* ihn. Das Glaubensbekenntnis war eine Absage an ihn. Aber man gab dem Satan damit indirekt viel Macht. Ein Sprichwort sagt zu Recht: Wenn man dem Teufel den Finger gibt, nimmt er die ganze Hand.

Für aufgeklärte Menschen heute ist der Teufel eine innere Phantasie, von deren Macht Menschen befreit werden sollen. Die Aufklärung will den Satan aus den Köpfen der Menschen vertreiben. Das Ziel dieser Entmythologisierung des Teufels konvergiert mit dem Ziel des neutestamentlichen Satansmythos: Im Neuen Testament soll seine Macht in der Welt, in der Aufklärung seine Macht in den Köpfen überwunden werden. In beiden Formen schädigt er das Leben. Denn immer wieder wurden Menschen "verteufelt", besonders Häretiker, Juden und Frauen. Es gibt jedoch noch einen dritten Weg: Man kann dem Teufel als Mythos den Abschied geben, um ihn als Poesie neu zu begrüßen zumal er in Literatur und Kunst, Sprache und Witzen ohnehin ein entmythologisierungsresistentes Wesen treibt. Dabei sollte man anerkennen, dass auch Dichtung und Kunst Erkenntniswert haben, wie umgekehrt in wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen Dichtung steckt. Der vorliegende Aufsatz soll zur Aufklärung über den Teufel beitragen, einerseits zu seiner Verabschiedung als Realität, andererseits zu seiner Deutung als Symbolik des Bösen.

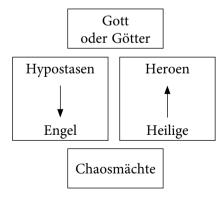
⁵ O. Weber, *Grundlagen der Dogmatik I* (Neukirchen: Verlag der Buchandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1955), 539: "Gewiß, wir glauben als Christen nicht 'an' den Teufel. Der Teufel steht auch nicht im Credo. Aber wir glauben 'gegen' den Teufel. Das ganze Credo ist zugleich abrenuntiatio diaboli. Aber die Macht, gegen die Glaube Glaube ist, hat, so gewiß ihr keine Geltung zukommt, doch Realität." Die liturgische Anrufung des Teufels verleiht ihm Realität. Deswegen ist sie abzulehnen. In einem Gottesdienst darf poetisch *über* den Teufel, nicht aber liturgisch *zu* ihm gesprochen werden.

Im einem historischen Teil wird eine Geschichte des Satansmythos skizziert, zuerst der Aufstieg des Satans von einer Statistenrolle im Alten Testament zum Gegenspieler Gottes im Judentum, dann die Ansätze im Judentum, ihn einzugrenzen, bis zur Botschaft von seiner Überwindung im Neuen Testament—mit einem Ausblick auf die Zunahme seiner Bedeutung in Patristik und Mittelalter.

In einem systematischen Teil folgen drei Thesen zur Bedeutung des Satans im Urchristentum: zur Sozialgeschichte, zur psychologischen Anthropologie und zur religionspsychologischen "Theologie" des Teufels. Die Vorstellung vom Satan sagt etwas über die Beziehung des Menschen zu anderen Menschen, zu sich selbst und zur Transzendenz aus.

ERSTER TEIL: DIE GESCHICHTE DES TEUFELS

Der Satan gehört zu den Zwischenwesen zwischen Mensch und Gott. Unter ihnen kann man absteigende und aufsteigende Gestalten unterscheiden: Absteigende Zwischenwesen sind Hypostasen Gottes, in denen er sich der Welt zuwendet, sowie Engel, die er als Boten in die Welt schickt. Aufsteigende Zwischenwesen sind Menschen, die wie Elia und Henoch in den Himmel versetzt wurden, sowie Heroen, die zu den Halbgöttern gehören. Außerhalb der Ordnung von Zwischenwesen und des Kosmos überhaupt gibt es Chaosmächte, die sich jeder Ordnung entziehen und gegen sie rebellieren:⁶



 $^{^6}$ B. Lang, Art. , Zwischenwesen, ' HrwG 5, ed. H. Cancik et al. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), $414{-}440.$

Die Geschichte des Satans verläuft in einer aufsteigenden und einer absteigenden Linie. Der Monotheismus muss einerseits Gott durch den Satan entlasten, damit der Glaube an den einen Gott angesichts einer boshaften Welt durchgehalten werden kann, andererseits muss er den Satan in Schranken weisen, damit letztlich Gott die Geschicke bestimmt. Beide Linien gehören zusammen. Man kann nicht den Aufstieg des Satans dem Judentum zuschreiben, seine Entmachtung aber dem Urchristentum. Beide Tendenzen sind überall zu spüren.

1. Die Nebenrolle des Satans im Alten Testament als Diener Gottes

Der Satan beginnt seine Geschichte als Engelwesen, das Gott dient. Im Alten Testament begegnet er nur in drei späten Texten.⁷ Er heißt im hebräischen Text *schatan*; das bedeutet "Feind", in der griechischen Übersetzung *diábolos*, das bedeutet "Verleumder". Daraus wurde im Deutschen der "Teufel", im Koran *Iblis*.

Die älteste Stelle findet sich bei Sacharja (Ende des 6. Jh. v.Chr.). Er schaut in seinen Visionen den Hohepriester Josua: "Dann ließ er mich schauen, wie Josua der Hohepriester, vor dem Engel des Herrn stand, während der Satan (d.i. der Widersacher) zu seiner Rechten stand, ihn zu verklagen. Aber der Engel des Herrn sprach zum Satan: Der Herr schelte dich, Satan! Ja, dich schelte der Herr, der Jerusalem erwählt hat" (Sach 3:1–2). Der Satan ist hier Ankläger vor Gott. Gegen seine Anklage wird der Hohepriester Josua in Schutz genommen. Der Prophet interveniert in Auseinandersetzungen beim Wiederaufbau des Tempels, bei denen man dem Hohepriester kultische Legitimität abgesprochen hatte. Vom Satan wird mit Artikel gesprochen, so dass es sich noch nicht um einen Eigennamen handeln kann.

Das gilt auch für die zweite Stelle: Das Hiobbuch ist jünger als das Sacharjabuch, aber noch in der Perserzeit entstanden. In seiner Rahmenerzählung gehört "der Satan" als Göttersohn zum Hofstaat Gottes. Seine Funktion hat sich über Sacharja hinaus erweitert. Er ist nicht nur Ankläger, sondern Versucher und Verursacher von Unheil. Wie ein Beamter des persischen Großkönigs zieht er auf der Erde hin und her und schikaniert grundlos die Untertanen (Hiob 1:6–12). In den Dialogen des Hiob mit seinen Freunden, in denen es um den Sinn des

 $^{^7}$ Oft wird Num 22:21–35 als vierte Stelle genannt: Dort tritt der Engel des Herrn dem Bileam als "Widersacher" (Satan) entgegen. "Satan" ist hier ein Engel, der im Auftrag Gottes tätig ist. Er hat keine "satanischen" Züge.

Leidens und die Theodizeefrage geht, spielt er keine Rolle. Er begegnet nur in der Rahmenhandlung.⁸

2. Der Aufstieg des Satans zum Gegenspieler Gottes in zwischentestamentarischer Zeit

An den beiden bisher besprochenen Stellen ist Satan von Gott abhängig, er ist sein Diener und nicht sein Feind. Gott setzt ihm Grenzen. Er darf Hiob alles wegnehmen, aber nicht sein Leben. Wie gewinnt diese abhängige Gestalt eine solche Macht, dass im Neuen Testament sein Reich und das Reich Gottes einander gegenüberstehen? Der Machtzuwachs des Satans geschah m.E. in drei Schritten, die sich nicht streng chronologisch ordnen lassen, sondern überschneiden: (1) Der Satan übernahm Funktionen Gottes. (2) Er wurde zum Anführer der gefallenen Engel. (3) Er übernahm die Funktion des Chaos. Auf drei Ebenen entfaltete er seine Macht und wurde zum Demiurgen, zum rebellischen Teufel und zum Antichrist.

a) Der Machtzuwachs des Satans durch Übernahme von Funktionen Gottes

Der Satan wird im Alten Testament ein drittes Mal in einer Neuerzählung der Samuelbücher erwähnt. In 2Sam 24:1 (4. Jh. v.Chr.?) heißt es: "Und der Zorn des Herrn entbrannte abermals gegen Israel, und er reizte David gegen das Volk und sprach: Geh hin und zähle Israel und Juda!" Die Volkszählung gilt als Verstoß gegen Gottes Willen. Das Land wird deshalb mit Pest bestraft. Die Erzählung ist Ausdruck einer Opposition gegen berechnende Herrschafts- und Unterdrückungsformen. In der Neuerzählung in 1Chr 21:1 wird die Volkszählung auf den Satan zurückgeführt: "Und der Satan stellte sich gegen Israel und reizte David, dass er Israel zählen ließ". Für den Chronisten war unvorstellbar, dass Gott selbst David zu einer Sünde verführt und dann Unheil über das Land kommen ließ. Die dunkle Seite Gottes (sein Zorn) wird in der Gestalt des Satans verselbständigt. Hier begegnet der Begriff zum ersten Mal eindeutig als Eigenname ohne Artikel.

⁸ Vgl. H. Spiekermann, 'Die Satanisierung Gottes. Zur inneren Konkordanz von Novelle, Dialog und Gottesreden im Hiobbuch,' in *Wer ist wie du, Herr, unter den Göttern?* (Festschrift O. Kaiser), ed. I. Kottsieper, J. von Oorshot u.a. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 431–444.

Die Übertragung von Funktionen Gottes auf den Satan finden wir mehrfach im Jubiläenbuch. In dieser Neuerzählung des Buches Genesis aus dem 2. Jh. v.Chr. heißt der Satan "Mastema" = "Feindschaft". Mastema reizt Gott, von Abraham die Opferung seines Sohnes Isaak zu verlangen (Jub 17:16). Mastema, nicht Gott, überfällt Mose auf dem Rückweg nach Ägypten, um ihn zu töten (Jub 48:3). Mastema ist für die Tötung der Erstgeburt in Ägypten verantwortlich (Jub 49:2.4). Mastema warf die verfolgenden Ägypter ins Meer (Jub 48:17). Deutlich ist: Der Teufel soll Gott von Handlungen entlasten, die man ihm aufgrund erhöhter moralischer Sensibilität nicht mehr zuschreiben wollte. Er übernimmt die dunkle und dämonische Seite Gottes.

Auch in der neutestamentlichen Versuchungsgeschichte finden wir diese Übertragung von Aussagen über Gott auf den Satan: Nach Dtn 8:2 hat Gott Israel in der Wüste versucht. In der Versuchungsgeschichte tritt der Satan an dessen Stelle: Er versucht Jesus in der Wüste (Mt 4:1–10parr.). Das frühe Urchristentum spricht an zwei Stellen vom Satan wie von Gott: Paulus nennt ihn den "Gott dieser Welt" (2Kor 4:4). Das JohEv nennt die Juden, sofern sie Jesus töten wollen, Kinder des Teufels (Joh 8:44). Aber das bleiben vereinzelte Stellen. 10

Seinen Höhepunkt fand diese Entwicklung in der Gnosis im 2. Jh. n.Chr. Hier wird die Schöpfung der Welt einem untergeordneten Demiurgen zugeschrieben. Dieser untergeordnete Demiurg verlangt exklusiv göttliche Verehrung mit den Worten von Ex 20:5: "Ich bin ein eifersüchtiger Gott. Es gibt keinen anderen Gott außer mir" (*ApocrJoh* NHC II.1.13; BG 2.44; *2LogSeth* 53.30f.; 54.19f.). Alle Aussagen über den Schöpfergott werden auf einen satanischen Demiurgen übertragen. Diese Welt gilt als zu unvollkommen, als dass die Gnostiker sie auf den wahren Gott zurückführen konnten. Der Satan wurde somit mächtig, indem er die dunklen Seiten des Gottesbildes an sich zog. Ein weiterer Machtzuwachs des Satans aber lag darin, dass er Untertanen bekam.

⁹ Die Versuchungsgeschichte zitiert Dtn 8:3; 6:16; 6:13 in Mt 4:4.7.10. Die Versuchung Israels in der Wüste wird auf Jesus übertragen, die Rolle Gottes übernimmt der Satan.

¹⁰ S. Pétrement, A Separate God: The Christian Origins of Gnosticism (franz. 1984; San Francisco: Harper Collins 1990): Ihre These ist, dass das Urchristentum in dieser Hinsicht einen Übergang zur Gnosis bildet.

b) Der Machtzuwachs des Satans als Anführer der gefallenen Engel In den ältesten Stellen im Alten Testament war der Satan selbst ein Untertan Gottes neben anderen Engeln, im Neuen Testament ist vom Satan und seinen Engeln die Rede (Mt 25:41; Apk 12:7.9). Er ist ein "Fürst" mit eigenen Untertanen geworden. Das wurde durch die Verbindung des Satans mit den Göttersöhnen von Gen 6:1ff. möglich. Nach Gen 6:1ff. kamen Göttersöhne auf die Erde, verführten die Menschenfrauen und zeugten mit ihnen die Riesen, welche die Erde mit Gewalttat füllten. Ihretwegen vernichtete Gott seine Schöpfung in der Sintflut.

Diese Erzählung hat die mythische Phantasie beflügelt. Viele sahen im Fall der Engel die Ursache des Bösen. Die von den Gottessöhnen gezeugten Riesen hätten sich gegenseitig umgebracht. Deren Totengeister seien die Dämonen, welche die Menschen seitdem quälen.¹¹ Das Problem war freilich: In Gen 6 steht nichts von einem Anführer der Gottessöhne. Der Teufel wird nicht erwähnt. In der ältesten erhaltenen Ausgestaltung des Engelfallmythos in ÄthHen 6-11 haben die ungehorsamen Engel noch nicht einmal eine einheitliche Führung, sondern eine Doppelspitze bestehend aus Semyāza und Azāz'ēl (ÄthHen 6:3; 8:6f). Erst in der Tierapokalypse aus dem 2. Jh. v.Chr. (ÄthHen 85–90) ist ein einziger Anführer das Urbild ihres Handelns: Henoch sieht zuerst einen einzigen Stern vom Himmel fallen, dem viele weitere Sterne, die sich mit den Menschenfrauen (den Kühen der Bullen) verbinden (ÄthHen 86.1–6), folgen. Der erste Stern wird von vier Erzengeln gebunden und in den Abgrund geworfen; später folgen ihm die anderen gefallenen Sterne (ÄthHen 88.1-3). Die Sünde des ersten Sterns ist nicht ganz deutlich. Er frisst und weidet unter den Menschen. Er handelt nach 86.4 wohl wie die vielen Sterne, die mit den Menschenfrauen Söhne zeugen. Neben der Tierapokalypse bezeugt das Jubiläenbuch schon für das 2. Jh. v.Chr., dass die gefallenen Geister

¹¹ Die Invasion der Engel auf Erden wirkt wie ein Spiegelbild der Invasion der hellenistischen Kultur in Palästina (ÄthHen 6–1; 15; Jub 4.15; 5.1–5; 10.1–17). Die gefallenen Engel lehren die Menschen, Waffen und Schmuck herzustellen (ÄthHen 8.1). Dieser Deutung von George W. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11," JBL 96 (1977) 383–405, wurde von D. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest. The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–11," HUCA 50 (1979) 115–135, widersprochen: Mit den Engeln werden Priester kritisiert, die unter Verletzung der Reinheitsgesetze unter ihrem Stand heiraten. Beide sozialgeschichtlichen Deutungen schließen sich nicht aus: Die Hellenisierung der priesterlichen Aristokratie hat das Judentum in eine tiefe Krise getrieben.

einen Anführer haben (Jub 10:8). Das Reich des Bösen ist seitdem hierarchisch organisiert.

Eine innere Notwendigkeit, die Führung auf einen einzigen der gefallenen Engel zu konzentrieren, ergab sich eigentlich erst dann, wenn dieser Anführer Gott gleich sein wollte. Diesen Anspruch konnte er nur erheben, wenn er dem einen und einzigen Gott gleich sein wollte, ohne Konkurrenten zu haben. Ein solcher Anspruch fehlt in den bisherigen Varianten des Engelfallmythos im Wächterbuch (ÄthHen 6–11), in der Tierapokalypse (ÄthHen 85–90) und im Jubiläenbuch.

Um diesen Anspruch mit dem Satansmythos zu verbinden, musste (in der Zeit nach dem Neuen Testament?) eine weitere alttestamentliche Stelle auf den Satan gedeutet und mit dem Engelfallmythos verbunden werden. Hybris und Fall des Satans sah man in Jes 14:12–15 geschildert—in einem prophetischen Unheilswort, das sich ursprünglich gegen einen babylonischen König richtet. Dort heißt es:

Wie bist du vom Himmel gefallen, du schöner Morgenstern! Wie wurdest du zu Boden geschlagen, der du alle Völker niederschlugst. Du aber gedachtest in deinem Herzen: 'Ich will in den Himmel steigen und meinen Thron über die Sterne Gottes erhöhen, ich will mich setzen auf den Berg der Versammlung im fernsten Norden. Ich will auffahren über die hohen Wolken und gleich sein dem Allerhöchsten'. Ja, hinunter zu den Toten fuhrest du, zur tiefsten Grube!

Dieses Prophetenwort gegen einen König, der sich Gott gleich stellt, wurde als Darstellung eines urzeitlichen Geschehens bei der Schöpfung verstanden. Aufgrund der lateinischen Übersetzung des hebräischen Worts für Morgenstern, erhielt der Satan den Namen *Lucifer*. Der älteste datierbare Beleg für diese Deutung von Jes 14 ist *VitAd* 14–16 aus dem 1. Jh. n.Chr.¹² Die Verfehlung des Satans besteht darin, dass er sich weigert, Adam als Ebenbild Gottes anzubeten.¹³ Erst danach wird er aus dem Himmel entfernt. Der Satan selbst erzählt Adam die

¹² Kelly, Satan, 182–184, datiert diesen Beleg ins 4. Jh. n.Chr. Er will den Luzifer-Mythos vom rebellischen Gegenspieler Gottes erst in die Zeit nach dem Neuen Testament datieren. Bedenkenswert ist sein Argument, dass Luzifer erst nach dem Neuen Testament zum Namen des Teufels wurde, da in Apk 22:16 (vgl. 2:26–28) und 2 Petr 2:19 Christus selbst der Morgenstern ist.

¹³ Der Koran übernahm die Paradiesgeschichte, nicht das (sexuell aufgeladene) Schlangensymbol. Iblis bzw. Shaitan verführt das erste Menschenpaar. M. Martinek, "Wie die Schlange zum Teufel wurde. Die Symbolik in der Paradiesgeschichte von der hebräischen Bibel bis zum Koran," StOR 37 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996) 164–173.

Geschichte seines Sturzes. Er habe dem Engel Michael erklärt, als der ihn zur Verehrung Adams aufgefordert hatte:

Ich werde nicht jemanden anbeten, der geringer und später entstanden ist als ich; in der Schöpfung bin ich früher als er. Bevor jener entstand, war ich schon geschaffen. Er muss mich anbeten. Als das die übrigen Engel hörten, wollten sie ihn (ebenfalls) nicht anbeten. Und Michael sprach: Bete das Ebenbild Gottes an. Wenn du aber nicht anbetest, wird dir Gott der Herr zürnen. Und ich sprach: Wenn er mir zürnt, werde ich meinen Sitz über die Gestirne des Himmels setzen und dem Höchsten ähnlich sein. Und Gott der Herr wurde zornig auf mich und schickte mich mit meinen Engeln weit weg von unserer Herrlichkeit, und deinetwegen sind wir in diese Welt hinaus vertrieben worden von unseren Wohnungen und sind auf die Erde geworfen worden...

Auf Erden rächt sich der Satan an Adam, indem er Eva verführt, von der verbotenen Frucht im Paradies zu essen (*VitAd* 33.2). Wir finden hier eindeutig die Identifikation des Satans mit der Schlange im Paradies. Sie könnte in der Johannesapokalypse vorausgesetzt sein. ¹⁴ In ihr wird der Satan aus dem Himmel entfernt: "Und es wurde hinausgeworfen der große Drache, die alte Schlange, die da heißt: Teufel und Satan, der die ganze Welt verführt, und er wurde auf die Erde geworfen und seine Engel wurden mit ihm dahin geworfen" (Apk 12:9; vgl. 20:2).

Es gibt noch einen zweiten Beleg im *SlavHen* 29.4–6 (aus dem 1. Jh. n.Chr.) für diese urzeitliche Rebellion des Satans. Er ist aber nicht in allen Handschriften enthalten und könnte später hinzugefügt sein. Hier berichtet Gott selbst über die urzeitliche Rebellion des Satans:

Einer aber vom Rang der Erzengel wandte sich ab mit dem Rang, der unter ihm war, [und] er empfing den unmöglichen Gedanken, dass er seinen Thron höher als die Wolken über der Erde stellte, [und] dass er gleich werde meiner Macht. Und ich warf ihn von der Höhe hinab mit seinen Engeln. Und er flog fortwährend in der Luft, oberhalb des Abgrundes. Und so schuf ich alle Himmel. Und es wurde der dritte Tag.

¹⁴ Der älteste Beleg dafür könnte SapSal 2:14 (1.Jh. v.Chr.) sein: "Aber durch den Neid des Teufels kam der Tod in die Welt, und es erfahren ihn alle, die jenem angehören", es sei denn hier ist an den Neid Kains wie in *1Klem* 4 gedacht, wo der Teufel keine Rolle spielt. Dafür wird der Mord an Abel in 1 Joh 3:8–12 indirekt, direkt von Theophilus von Antiochien in *Autol. II*, 28f. auf den Satan zurückgeführt. Kelly, *Satan*, 152, bestreitet für Apk 12:9 eine Beziehung zur Paradiesesschlange; der urzeitliche Chaos-Drache wird in der LXX "Schlange" genannt, ohne dass an die Paradiesesschlange gedacht ist (Jes 27:1).

Im Unterschied zur Vita Adams und Evas ist die Rebellion des Satans keine Reaktion auf die Schöpfung des Menschen am sechsten Schöpfungstag, sondern geschieht noch vor dessen Erschaffung. Da die Sterne am dritten Tag geschaffen worden waren, wurde der Fall des Morgensterns auf diesen Tag gelegt.

Die Geschichte vom Engelfall wurde in diesen Versionen entscheidend verändert. Die Sünde der Engel bestand ursprünglich in einer Hierarchieverfehlung nach unten: Sie verließen den Himmel, um mit Menschenfrauen Kinder zu zeugen, obwohl sie als unsterbliche Wesen nicht auf Zeugung angewiesen waren, um weiter zu leben. Ihre Söhne, die Riesen, bringen sich gegenseitig um. Sie sind nicht mehr unsterblich, sondern dem Tod unterworfen. Die Hierarchieverfehlung nach unten hin konkretisiert sich in Sexualität und Gewalt. In der Weiterentwicklung des Engelfallmythos aber hat die entscheidende Sünde ganz andere Natur: Der Anführer der ungehorsamen Engel, der Satan, macht sich einer Hierarchieverfehlung nach oben hin schuldig. Er will wie Gott sein. Die Hinwendung zu den Menschenfrauen ist also nicht mehr das Vergehen der Engel wie im ursprünglichen Engelfallmythos, sondern Strafe für eine vorhergehende Sünde. Diese Ursünde konkretisiert sich nicht in Sexualität und Gewalt gegen Menschen, sondern in Hybris und Selbstapotheose gegenüber Gott.

Es ist schwer, diese Wende im Satansmythos zu datieren. Die *Vita Adams und Evas* wird mehrheitlich um die Zeitenwende datiert, aber es gibt auch Spätdatierungen. Unbestreitbar ist jedoch, dass die Ursünde des Satans schon in der neutestamentlichen Versuchungsgeschichte als Selbstapotheose dargestellt wird (Mt 4:1–11): Der Satan verlangt von Jesus Verehrung als Gott. Er verführt aber nicht andere Gottessöhne (oder Engel) zur Rebellion gegen Gott, sondern er scheitert an dem einen Gottessohn, der als vorbildlicher Monotheist seine Verehrung ablehnt. Entweder wurde in der Versuchungsgeschichte die mythische Ursünde in die Geschichte verlegt oder es wurden in *VitAd* 14–16 und *SlavHen* 29 geschichtliche Erfahrungen mit der Selbstapotheose von Herrschern in eine mythische Urzeit zurückprojiziert.

c) Der Machtzuwachs des Satans durch Verbindung mit den Chaosmächten

Schließlich gab es noch eine dritte Möglichkeit für den Satan, durch Bündnis mit den Chaosmächten Macht zu gewinnen. Die Mythen zur Entstehung des Satans hatten bisher eine andere Struktur: Zwischenwesen verstießen gegen die Hierarchieregeln zunächst nach unten hin,

indem sie sich an den Frauen der Menschensöhne vergingen, dann nach oben hin, indem ihr Anführer wie Gott sein wollte. Der Satan fällt hier aus einer Ordnung heraus, der er ursprünglich zugehörte. Er kann aber auch Symbol jener Chaosmächte sein, die von Anfang an außerhalb des geordneten Kosmos standen. Schon in Qumran sind die neu aufbrechenden Urfluten Belials Bäche und Belials Ströme (*1QH* 11.29–32). Eine direkte Identifikation des Satans mit den Chaostieren ist erst Ende des 1. Jh. n.Chr. in der Johannesapokalypse belegt.

In Apk 12–13 begegnet eine satanische Trinität von drei Chaostieren. ¹⁵ Zunächst ist der Satan der Drache, der vom Himmel auf die Erde geworfen wird, dann das Untier aus dem Meer als ein Symbol des römischen Reichs, schließlich das zweite Tier vom Lande, das dazu verführt, römische Herrscher als Götter zu verehren. Die drei Untiere sind in der Endzeit reaktivierte Chaosmächte der Urzeit. Charakteristisch ist jedoch, dass zuerst der Drache aus dem Himmel entfernt wird und sich erst danach mit den von unten aufsteigenden Chaosmächten verbindet. Nicht der Aufruhr gegen die Ordnung des Himmels ist das Primäre, sondern eine Störung in der Ordnung des Himmels. Anders gesagt: Erst der Krieg im Himmel gibt dem Chaos eine Chance. Ein gewisse Ironie liegt darin, dass ausgerechnet das römische Reich zum Inbegriff der Chaosmächte wurde, also ein Reich mit großer Stabilität und einer Rechtsordnung.

Warum kommt es erst so spät zu einer Verbindung des Satans mit den Chaosmächten, die später selbstverständlich wurde?¹⁶ Erst das Bewusstsein der endzeitlichen Erlösung aktivierte noch einmal das urzeitliche Chaos gegen Gott. Die Chaostiere wurden dabei bewusst als Gegenbild zu Christus stilisiert. Das Tier aus dem Meer trägt mit seiner Todeswunde, seiner Wiederbelebung, seiner Inthronisation und seinen Lästernamen Züge Christi, ebenso das Tier vom Land, das aufgrund seiner zwei Hörner "wie ein Lamm" aussieht. Auch dieser Satan erweist seinen widergöttlichen Charakter durch seine Selbstapotheose. Er verlangt göttliche Verehrung.

¹⁵ Einen Überblick über die verschiedenen Deutungen gibt O. Böcher, 'Die Johannesapokalypse,' *EdF* 41 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980) 76–83: "Die teufliche Trinität".

¹⁶ Wenn Luther Ps 46 als "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" umdichtete, verwandelte er die Urflut in den Teufel: "Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär'..." Er steht damit in einer alten Tradition, die im Neuen Testament ihren Ursprung hat.

Vom Statisten ist der Satan so im Laufe von 500 Jahren zum Gegenspieler Gottes aufgestiegen. Er gewann seinen Zuwachs an Macht, indem er die dunkle Seite Gottes über ihm als Demiurg absorbierte, indem er die Mächte des Chaos zum Antichristen verdichtete, vor allem aber, indem er zum Herrscher eines Satansreiches wurde, das mit Gott in Konkurrenz trat. Nicht er allein, auch andere Engel sündigen. Der Satan wird ihr Anführer und ihr Prototyp. Seine Sünde gipfelt in einem Verstoß gegen das Grundgebot des Monotheismus: Er will sich an Gottes Stelle setzen und verehren lassen. Obwohl das AT nur an drei marginalen Stellen vom Satan spricht, wird er nun an vielen Stellen in die Tradition hineingelesen: in den Schöpfungsbericht als Teufel, der aus der Schöpfungsordnung herausfällt (Gen 1); in die Sündenfallerzählung als Schlange (Gen 2); in die Geschichte vom Engelfall als Anführer der ungehorsamen Engel (Gen 6); in die Prophetie gegen einen babylonischen König als Lucifer (Jes 14) und in die vielen Aussagen über Chaosmächte, die das ganze AT durchziehen, als Feind Gottes. Eine satanologische relecture des Alten Testaments entdeckte ihn an vielen Stellen, wo ursprünglich kein Wort von ihm stand. Umstritten ist, wie weit dieser Prozess im Neuen Testament schon vorausgesetzt ist. Ist der Satan im Neuen Testament nur ein Gott untergeordneter Versucher wie im Alten Testament?¹⁷ Wohl kaum, denn er ist im Neuen Testament schon ein Anführer von Engeln (vgl. Mt 25:41; Apk 12:7.9); er steht mit seinem Reich im Gegensatz zum Reich Gottes (Mt 12:28par.; Mk 3:23-27)18 und enthüllt in der Selbstapotheose sein teuflisches Wesen (Mt 4:1-11par; Apk 13). Seine Identifikation mit der Paradiesesschlange könnte schon bekannt sein. Nicht voraussetzen können wir dagegen seine Rebellion und seinen Fall in mythischer Urzeit.

Für diesen Aufstieg des Satans zum Gegenspieler Gottes hat man früher persische Einflüsse geltend gemacht. Die persische Religion war dualistisch. Ein guter und ein böser Gott kämpften miteinander, bis sich der gute Gott am Ende durchsetzt. Wurde der böse Gott der persischen Religion, Ahriman, zum Gegenspieler Gottes, zum Satan? Aber

¹⁷ Kelly, *Satan*, 326, vertritt eine Auffassung des Satans im Neuen Testament "as basically the same sort of character as the one that we meet with in the Book of Job". Dagegen ist festzuhalten: Der Satan hat im Neuen Testament, verglichen mit dem Alten Testament, einen deutlichen Machtzuwachs als Gegenspieler Gottes erfahren.

¹⁸ Vgl. 1QM 6,6; AssMos 10.1; TestDan 10.10-13.

dann wäre kaum verständlich, warum unter den vielen Namen Satans im nachalttestamentlichen Judentum—*Mastema* (= Feindschaft), *Belial* (= Nutzlosigkeit, Schlechtigkeit), *Samael* (der Giftige oder der Blinde)—ein Name fehlt, den man mit Ahriman in Verbindung bringen könnte.¹⁹ Eher wird man daher an eine Parallelentwicklung in zwei Religionen denken, die beide den Weg zum Monotheismus fanden und denselben Problemen ausgesetzt waren.

Das Hauptmotiv für die Entstehungsgeschichte des Satans wird man in der inneren Dynamik der jüdischen Religion suchen müssen. In exilischer Zeit hatte sich mit Deuterojesaja der Monotheismus durchgesetzt. Der eine und einzige Gott wurde für alles verantwortlich. Jes 45:7 betont, dass Gott sowohl Heil als auch Unheil wirkt.²⁰ Dieser Gott war gleichzeitig die Verkörperung des Guten gegen alles Böse. Das führte zu einem unlösbaren Widerspruch. Wenn Gott für alles verantwortlich ist, ist er auch für das Böse verantwortlich. Wenn er das Gute verkörpert, ist er Gegner des Bösen. Das Problem wurde durch einen begrenzten Dualismus bearbeitet: Um das Böse von Gott fernzuhalten, wurde es einer Gott untergeordneten Gestalt zugeschrieben, dem Satan. Um den Monotheismus nicht zu gefährden, durfte dieser Satan aber nur eine untergeordnete Rolle einnehmen. Dennoch wurde er in der Phantasie immer mächtiger. Denn Israel erlebte sich seit dem Exil in Abhängigkeit von den Weltmächten. Gott machte seine Verheißungen nicht wahr. Eine mögliche Erklärung war: Der Satan verhinderte die Absichten Gottes. Er wurde zum Feind Israels. Seine Macht aber bedrohte den Monotheismus. Das führte zu einem Ringen darum, den Dualismus zu begrenzen.

3. Die Eingrenzung der Macht des Satans

Will man das Judentum angemessen verstehen, so muss man eine Gegentendenz zur Aufwertung des Satans im Auge haben. In weiten Kreisen des Judentums spielte er keine Rolle. Es kam hier zu einer *monotheistischen* Leugnung des Satans. In anderen Schriften wurde der Dualismus von Satan und Gott durch den Schöpfungsglauben

¹⁹ Für einige Namen von Dämonen oder einige Bezeichnungen des Satans lässt sich eine fremde Herkunft wahrscheinlich machen: *Asmodäus* (Tobit 3:8 u.ö.) könnte auf den iranischen "Dämon des Zorns" "Aeshma daeva" zurückgehen. M. Hutter, Art. "Asmodeus, 'DDD, 197–220.

²⁰ Ist das ein bewusster Widerspruch gegen den persischen Dualismus des guten und des bösen Gottes?

eingeschränkt: Gott hatte am Anfang zwei Geister geschaffen. Diese Geister wurden immer mehr ins Innere des Menschen verlegt, so dass es zu einer *psychologischen* Relativierung des Satans kam. Schließlich wurde der Satan in der Apokalyptik durch die Erwartung einer neuen Welt *eschatologisch* relativiert: In der kommenden Welt werde es keinen Satan geben. Diese drei Tendenzen seien im Folgenden kurz skizziert.

a) Die monotheistische Leugnung des Satans in weiten Teilen des Judentums

Der Satan fehlt (mit einer einzigen Ausnahme) in der Weisheitsliteratur des Judentums:²¹ bei Jesus Sirach, Ps-Phokylides, Philo von Alexandrien, im Buch Baruch, Aristeasbrief und IV Makkabäerbuch, einem philosophischen Traktat über die Leidenschaften. Nur in der Sapientia Salomonis begegnet er einmal als Ursache des Todes (Sap 2:24). Hatte der Satan in der Oberschichtliteratur weniger Chancen? Oder war die Gattung der Weisheitsliteratur kein angemessener literarischer Rahmen für den "Satan"? Noch die Sprüche der Väter, eine Fortsetzung der weisheitlichen Spruchsammlungen im rabbinischen Judentum, erwähnen den Satan nie und die Dämonen nur einmal (*mAboth* V.9). In den synoptischen Evangelien fehlt der Satan in weisheitlichen Logien, auch wenn er im Hintergrund präsent ist.²²

Oberschichtmentalität könnte man auch für seine Abwesenheit in der jüdisch-hellenistischen Geschichtsschreibung verantwortlich machen: Das Buch Judith kommt ohne Satan aus. Die Makkabäerbücher deuten die Religionsverfolgung unter Antiochos Epiphanes ohne ihn. Bei Josephus sucht man vergeblich nach Spuren seines Wirkens in der Geschichte; er fehlt in seiner Apologie des Judentums (*Contra Apionem*). Die christliche Geschichtsschreibung spricht dagegen unbefangen vom Satan (Apg 5:3; 10:38; 13:10; 26:18).

²¹ Vgl. H.J. Fabry, "Satan'—Begriff und Wirklichkeit. Untersuchungen zur Dämonologie der alttestamentlichen Weisheitsliteratur," in *Die Dämonen. Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger und K.F.D. Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 269–291, bes. S. 272–276: Die "Weisheitsliteratur (ist) weitestgehend dämonenfrei. Etwaige dämonische Subsistenzen sind völlig depontenziert, können aber in Mahnsprüchen pädagogisch instrumentalisiert werden." (S. 275).

²² Allenfalls das Wort über das mit sich zerfallene Satansreich könnte man als weisheitliche Sentenz (Mk 3:23–26) verstehen, aber es ist ein Disputationswort, das auf die Exorzismen Jesu Bezug nimmt.

Die pharisäischen (?) *Psalmen Salomos* kennen keinen Teufel, während der Pharisäer Paulus wie selbstverständlich vom Satan spricht. Oder wirkt auch hier die Gattung nach? Auch die alttestamentlichen Psalmen kennen keinen Satan; dafür begegnet Belial in den Qumran-Psalmen (*1QH* 10.22; 11.28ff; 12.13f; 13.26).

Bemerkenswert ist vor allem: Selbst Testamente wie das *Testament Abrahams* und einige Apokalypsen können auf den Satan ganz verzichten. Obwohl in IV Esra die Theodizeefrage intensiv diskutiert wird, wird der Satan nirgendwo bemüht, um das Leiden Israels mit Gottes Güte zu vereinbaren, dafür begegnet die Lehre vom bösen Trieb, der im Herzen des Menschen wirkt (IV Esr 3:21f.; 4:30; 7:48). *Die syrische Baruchapokalypse* verarbeitet die Zerstörung Jerusalems. Auch sie kennt keinen Satan, sondern verpflichtet das Volk nach der Katastrophe auf Gott und das Gesetz. Die Apokalypse des Johannes reagiert wie IV Esra und *SyrBaruch* auf den jüdischen Krieg. In dieser Hinsicht besteht ein großer Unterschied zwischen den beiden jüdischen und der christlichen Apokalypse: In der JohApk spielt der Satan eine wichtige Rolle.

Der Satan war in der jüdischen Religion in neutestamentlicher Zeit nicht fest verankert. Im Volk wird er mehr Aufmerksamkeit gefunden haben als in der Aristokratie. Jesus spricht unbefangen von ihm. Er war im Judentum in vielen Köpfen zweifellos mächtig geworden und musste deshalb "monotheistisch" wieder eingefangen werden, nachdem er zu viel an Macht gewonnen hatte.

b) Die Zwei-Geister-Lehre als psychologische Relativierung des Satans Eine erste Relativierung sieht ihn als Geschöpf Gottes und deutet seine "Mythologie" in eine "Psychologie" um. Das könnte durch iranische Gedanken inspiriert sein.²³ Das Judentum hat aus der iranischen Religion also nicht den Satan importiert, wie man lange glaubte, im Gegenteil, es hat sich durch die iranische Religion anregen lassen, ihn

²³ Haag, *Teufelsglaube*, *Exkurs II*: Zarathustra und der iranische Dualismus, 263–269, ist skeptisch gegenüber einer Ableitung des Teufels aus dem iranischen Dualismus. Nur für die Zwei-Geister-Lehre in Qumran (*1QS* 3.13–4.26) wird meist der iranische Hintergrund anerkannt. Vgl. B. Nitzan, "Evil and its symbols in the Qumran scrolls," in *The Problem of Evil and its Symbols in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. H.G. Reventlow/Y. Hoffman, JSOTS 366 (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 83–96. Die Zwei-Geister-Lehre ist aber nur begrenzt dualistisch. Gott ist der Schöpfer beider Geister, auch wenn es widersprüchlich ist, dass er sein eigenes Geschöpf, den Geist des Irrtums, hasst (*1QS* 4.1).

einzuschränken. In den auf Zarathustra selbst zurückgeführten Gathas ist Ahura Mazda der alleinige Gott ohne Gegenspieler und Widersacher. Er hat den heiligen Geist (spenta manyu) und den bösen Geist (angra manyu) geschaffen. Beide sind Zwillinge. Erst später werden sie in der zoroastrischen Religion zu selbständigen Gottheiten. Aber in einer Sonderform der iranischen Religion wird der Gott Zervan ("Zeit") den beiden wieder übergeordnet, so dass hier der Dualismus wieder monotheistisch überformt wird. Solch ein monistisch überformter Dualismus begegnet auch in der Zwei-Geister-Lehre in Qumran—ziemlich sicher unter iranischem Einfluss:

Vom Gott der Erkenntnisse (stammt) alles Seiende und Gewordene, und bevor sie ins Dasein getreten, setzte Er ihren ganzen Plan fest.... Er hat den Menschen geschaffen zur Beherrschung der Welt und bestellte für ihn zwei Geister, um in ihnen zu wandeln bis zum Termin Seiner Heimsuchung. Es sind die Geister der Wahrheit und des Unrechts. In einem Licht-Quellort (ist) der Ursprung der Wahrheit und aus einer Finsternis-Quelle (kommt) der Ursprung des Unrechts. In der Hand eines Lichterfürsten (liegt) die Herrschaft aller Gerechtigkeitssöhne, auf Lichtwegen wandeln sie, und in der Hand eines Finsternis-Engels (liegt) alle Herrschaft der Unrechtssöhne, und auf Finsterniswegen wandeln sie... (1QS 3.15–21).

Diese "Geister" sind von außen einwirkende Mächte, ihr Konflikt aber ist ein innerer Konflikt im Menschen. In der Gegenwart "streiten Geister von Wahrheit und Unrecht im Herz eines Mannes" (1QS 4.23). Dämonologie und Psychologie gehen ineinander über. Dabei kann dieser Dualismus zweier Geister sowohl zur Deutung eines vorhandenen Status—die einen sind erwählt, die anderen Söhne der Finsternis—als auch zur Mahnung dienen.

Eine ausgebaute Verbindung von Dämonologie und Psychologie findet sich in den *Testamenten der XII Patriarchen*, in denen entsprechend dieser Gattung das ethische Motiv deutlicher hervortritt: Der Mensch steht zwischen zwei Lebensmöglichkeiten und zwei Geistern. Er muss entscheiden, in welche Richtung er sein Leben orientieren will.

²⁴ Jes 45:6f. kann kein Protest gegen den persischen Dualismus sein, wenn Gott spricht: "Ich bin der Herr, und sonst keiner mehr, der ich das Licht mache und schaffe die Finsternis, der ich Frieden gebe und schaffe Unheil. Ich bin der Herr, der dies alles tut." Die positive Sicht des Kyros in Deuterojesaja (Jes 45:1.4ff.) macht eine Polemik gegen dessen Religion unwahrscheinlich, eher eine positive Anknüpfung.

Einen Endpunkt findet die Internalisierung dieser beiden Antriebe in der rabbinischen Lehre vom guten und bösen Trieb im Menschen. Nicht zwischen Dämonen, sondern zwischen anthropologischen Möglichkeiten muss sich der Mensch entscheiden. Paulus vertritt in dieser Entwicklung eine andere Möglichkeit: Nicht zwei anthropologische Möglichkeiten kämpfen im Menschen miteinander, sondern Fleisch und Geist: Fleisch als eine biologisch begründete Energie, die den individuellen Menschen transzendiert, Geist als eine den Menschen ebenfalls transzendierende göttliche Gegenenergie. Paulus und die Rabbinen sprechen unbefangen vom Satan, aber sie entwickeln ein Menschenbild, in dem er prinzipiell relativiert wird.

c) Die apokalyptische Zwei-Äonen-Lehre als eschatologische Relativierung des Satans

Man konnte ferner die Macht des Satans zeitlich relativieren. Schon in Oumran begegnet die Vorstellung einer Begrenzung der Tage Belials.²⁵ In anderen Schriften finden wir Aussagen über eine neue Welt ohne Satan: "Und alle ihre Tage werden sie in Frieden und in Freude vollenden und leben. Und es gibt auch keinen Satan, und es gibt auch keinen Bösen, der zugrunde richtet. Denn alle Tage werden Tage des Segens und des Heils sein" (Jub 23:29). Diese Hoffnung kommt auch in der kurz vor Jesu Auftreten (neu) publizierten *Himmelfahrt des Mose* zum Ausdruck: "Und dann wird seine (Gottes) Herrschaft über seine ganze Schöpfung erscheinen, und dann wird der Teufel nicht mehr sein, und die Traurigkeit wird mit ihm hinweggenommen sein. Dann werden die Hände des Engels gefüllt werden, der an höchster Stelle steht, und sogleich wird er sie rächen an ihren Feinden" (AssMos 10.1f.).26 Die Herrschaft des Satans ist hier eng mit der Herrschaft der Feinde verbunden, die Israel unterdrücken. Mit der Überwindung seiner Herrschaft kommt eine neue Welt.

Das Neue Testament setzt beide Relativierungen des Satans voraus: Der mythische Dualismus von Gott und Satan wird durch einen eschatologischen Monotheismus relativiert. Wir finden Ansätze, den

 $^{^{25}}$ 1QS 2.19; 3.22f. Von einem Sieg über die bösen Geister sprechen auch 4Q 510 Frg.1.6–7 und 4Q 511, Frg. 10.3; Frg. 35.8.

Zum Ende des Satans vgl. ferner Jub 50:5. Dass es keinen Satan mehr gibt, bezieht sich in Jub 40:9; 46:2 aber nur auf die Zeit der Regierung Josephs in Ägypten. Eschatologisch gemeint ist dagegen *ApkEliae* 42.10–43.15; vgl. 43.13–15: "Er wird einen neuen Himmel schaffen und eine neue Erde, und kein Teufel…ist unter ihnen."

Satan psychologisch zu relativieren. Paulus verwandelt den Antagonismus von Gott und Satan in den Konflikt von "Geist und Fleisch". Die neue Welt ohne Satan beginnt schon jetzt. Schon jetzt wird die Macht des Satans überwunden.

4. Die Botschaft von der Überwindung des Satans im Neuen Testament

Im Neuen Testament ist nicht wichtig, wie der Satan²⁷ seine Macht erlangt hat, sondern dass er sie verliert: "Christus ist gekommen, die Werke des Teufels zu zerstören" (1 Joh 3:8). Der Beitrag des Neuen Testaments zum Satansmythos ist die Botschaft vom Ende des Satans. Verschiedene Aussagen finden sich darüber, wann seine Macht überwunden wird.

Die synoptischen Evangelien (und die Logienquelle) datieren diesen Zeitpunkt in das Wirken Jesu. Der Satan verliert schon in der Versuchung Jesu seine Macht (QLk 4:1-13). Wenn dahinter eine historische Erfahrung steht, so kann man sie in einem Wort Jesu suchen, das auf eine Berufungsvision Jesu deutet: Nach Lk 10:18 sah Jesus den Satan wie einen Blitz vom Himmel fallen. Er hat im Himmel seine Macht verloren, mag er sie auf Erden auch noch besitzen. Jedoch ist der Starke schon gefesselt (Mk 3:27). Das zeigen die Exorzismen. Wenn Jesus mit dem Finger Gottes die Dämonen vertreibt, ist die Gottesherrschaft schon angekommen—und hat die Herrschaft des Satans ein Ende (Lk 11:20/Mt 12:28). Er ist Ursache von Krankheiten und Alltagsnöten. Die Versuchungsgeschichte lässt aber auch erkennen, dass er hinter der römischen Weltherrschaft steht. Wenn dort der Satan seine eigene Verehrung durch Kniefall verlangt, spiegelt sich darin die Selbstapotheose des Kaisers Gaius Caligula.²⁸ Dieser führte die Proskynese ins Hofzeremoniell in Rom ein und ließ sich als Gott verehren. Er wollte seine Verehrung als Gott sogar im Jerusalemer Tempel durchsetzen.

 $^{^{27}}$ Neben dem hebräischen Satan und dem griechischen Διάβολος begegnen in Fortsetzung jüdischer Traditionen die Namen: der Böse (Mt 13:19), Herrscher dieser Welt (Joh 14:30), Verderber (1Kor 10:10), Beliar (2Kor 6:15), Engel des Abgrunds (Apk 9:11). Satan begegnet vorzugsweise in den älteren Schriften (MkEv und echte Paulusbriefe), Διάβολος in jüngeren Schichten (JohEv mit Ausnahme von 13:27 und katholische Briefe).

²⁸ G. Theißen, *Lokalkolorit und Zeitgeschichte in den Evangelien*, NTOA 8 (Freiburg/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 215–232.

Das Johannesevangelium datiert den Sieg gegen den Satan nicht in die Zeit des irdischen Jesus *vor* seiner Passion, sondern mit Kreuz und Auferstehung. Jesus vollbringt keine Exorzismen. Bei der Hinrichtung Jesu feiert der Satan sogar scheinbar einen Triumph. Aber gerade durch die Erhöhung Jesu ans Kreuz wird er "hinausgeworfen" (12:31) und "verurteilt" (16:11). Im JohEv geschieht in der Passion das, was bei den Synoptikern in der Versuchungsgeschichte geschah: die Überwindung des Fürsten dieser Welt. Hinter diesem "Fürsten der Welt" steht das Römische Reich. Wenn nämlich die joh Juden Jesus töten wollen, tun sie es unter dem Einfluss Satans, weil sie von den Römern abhängig geworden sind. Aus Loyalität zum Kaiser verlangen sie seine Hinrichtung. Und wenn der Satan in Judas fährt, um Jesus zu verraten, so kann dieser Judas danach eine Kohorte befehligen (18:3). Der Satan erscheint als römischer Befehlshaber.²⁹

Bei Paulus finden wir ein drittes Datum für den Triumph über den Satan: Der Auferstandene siegt über alle dämonischen Mächte. Aber sie sind in der Gegenwart noch nicht endgültig besiegt: "Der Gott des Friedens wird den Satan bald zertreten und unter eure Füße legen" (Röm 16:20). Erst am Ende wird Gott alles in allem sein. Der letzte Feind, der zuvor noch besiegt wird, ist der Tod. Der Tod aber ist eng mit dem Satan verbunden. Denn der Satan ist bei Paulus auch "der Vernichter" (1Kor 10:10).

Die Apokalypse kennt eine satanische Trinität: Aus dem Himmel wird der Drache auf die Erde geworfen (Apk 12), aus dem Meer steigt ein Untier auf (Apk 13:1–10), vom Land her kommt ein zweites Tier (Apk 13:11–18). Das Tier aus dem Abgrund symbolisiert das römische Reich. Das andere Tier verleiht diesem Tier seine Macht—durch den Kaiserkult, der in den kleinasiatischen Provinzen gepflegt wurde. Die Apokalypse bringt damit zum Ausdruck: Nicht die Macht an sich ist das Gefährliche, sondern die Propaganda, die ihr Legitimität verleiht. Der Untergang des Satans geschieht in drei Etappen, in denen die verschiedenen Daten einer Überwindung des Satans in einem Szenario verbunden werden.

a) Die erste Etappe besteht darin, dass der Drache aus dem Himmel entfernt wurde. Der Himmel ist satansfrei, nicht aber die Erde.

 $^{^{29}}$ G. Theißen, $Die\ Religion\ der\ ersten\ Christen.\ Eine\ Theorie\ des\ Urchristentums$ (Gütersloh: Mohn, 2000, 2003), 276–277.

Weil er im Himmel eine Niederlage erlitten hat, wütet er um so mehr auf Erden.

- b) Die zweite Etappe besteht in der Überwindung des Satans auf Erden durch einen Krieg (Apk 16:13–16; 19:11–21). Er wird für 1000 Jahre gefesselt (Apk 20:1–6). Nach einem 1000–jährigen Reich des Christus und der Märtyrer wird er noch einmal befreit.
- c) Die dritte Etappe besteht in einem zweiten großen Krieg, in dem der Satan Gog und Magog anführt (Apk 20:7f.). Dieser Krieg endet mit seiner endgültigen Niederlage. Der Satan endet im ewigen Feuer.

Im Judentum war der Satan aufgestiegen, weil sich Israel von Gott verlassen erlebte. Man hoffte auf eine neue Welt, in welcher der Satan überwunden wird. Das Neue Testament sagt: Diese Hoffnung ist in Erfüllung gegangen, wenn auch als Anfang, der sich noch vollenden muss. Der entscheidende Schritt zur Überwindung des Satans ist schon geschehen.

5. Die weitere Entwicklung: Der Satan als gefallener Engel und Erklärung des Bösen

Während das Neue Testament an der Überwindung Satans in Gegenwart und Zukunft interessiert ist, verlagert sich nach ihm das Interesse auf den Sturz des Satans in der Urzeit, also auf die Frage, wie das Böse in die Welt gekommen ist, weniger auf die Frage, wie es überwunden wird. Der Fall des Satans (und damit der Einbruch des Bösen in diese Welt) wurde entweder *nach* der Erschaffung von Adam und Eva datiert (*VitAd* 12–16) oder *vor* die Schöpfung (*SlavHen* 29:3–5). Sicher belegbar ist die Vorstellung vom präexistenten Fall Satans aber erst bei Origenes im 3. Jh. n.Chr. Er lehrte wohl auch, dass am Ende alle gefallenen Geschöpfe erlöst werden—einschließlich des Satans.³⁰ Das ist seine Lehre von der ἀποκατάστασις πάντων, der Wiedereinbringung aller Dinge, die nicht zur offiziellen Lehre der Kirche wurde.

Warum interessierte man sich für den Ursprung des Bösen? Das ergab sich zwangsläufig aus der christlichen Lehre. Der monotheistische Schöpfungsglaube lässt keinen Platz für ein böses Prinzip, das von Gott unabhängig ist. Alles Böse muss daher auf Kreaturen Gottes

³⁰ Angedeutet bei Clemens von Alexandrien, *Stromateis* I 17, ausgeführt bei Origenes, *De principiis* III.

zurückgehen, denen er Freiheit gegeben hat. "Alles Böse entstammt dem Fehlverhalten geschaffener Freiheit."³¹ Gott hatte zwei Arten von Kreaturen geschaffen: Geister und Menschen. Da man nicht alles Böse auf die Menschen zurückführen konnte, wurde die Verantwortung auf andere mit Freiheit ausgestattete Geister abgewälzt. Der Satan hatte als gefallener Engel die Menschen versucht. Im Mittelalter wurde gegen die Katharer, die an ein ursprüngliches böses Prinzip glaubten, die klassische Lehre vom Teufel im IV. Laterankonzil 1215 formuliert:

Wir glauben fest und bekennen, dass Gott der eine Ursprung aller Dinge ist, der Schöpfer der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren, der geistigen und der körperlichen. Er hat in seiner allmächtigen Kraft zu Anfang der Zeit in gleicher Weise beide Ordnungen der Schöpfung aus dem Nichts geschaffen, die geistige und die körperliche, d.h. die Engelwelt und die irdische Welt und dann die Menschenwelt, die gewissermaßen beide umfasst, da sie aus Geist und Körper besteht. Denn der Teufel und die anderen bösen Geister sind von Gott ihrer Natur nach gut geschaffen, aber sie sind durch sich selbst schlecht geworden. Der Mensch jedoch sündigte auf Eingebung des Teufels.

Diese Lehre vom Teufel tut das, was in der Urgeschichte dem ersten Menschenpaar vorgeworfen wird. Man schiebt die Schuld auf andere: Adam auf Eva, Eva auf die Schlange, das Laterankonzil auf den Teufel.

ZWEITER TEIL: DIE BEDEUTUNG DES SATANS

Der Satan ist eine Gestalt im Bereich der Geister und Dämonen. Gespenster- und Dämonenglauben kann man evolutionspsychologisch deuten: Lebewesen, die etwas Auffälliges reflexartig auf eine feindliche Intention zurückführten, hatten eine höhere Überlebenschance als andere. Einen Tiger aus Versehen für einen Stein zu halten, kann tödlich enden. Einen Stein für einen Tiger halten, ist unschädlich. Daher haben wir in uns ein evolutionspsychologisch erklärbares Erbe, die Umwelt als von feindlichen Intentionen bestimmt zu erleben—selbst wo sie an sich neutral ist.³² Das könnte die Universalität des Geisterglaubens erklären. Aber warum kommt es zu dieser Konzentration der bösen Geister in einem einzigen Fürsten der Dämonen? Mit der

³¹ D. Sattler/Th. Schneider, 'Schöpfungslehre,' in *Handbuch der Dogmatik*, Bd. 1, ed. Th. Schneider (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1992), 232.

³² St.E. Guthrie, *Faces in the Clouds. A New Theory of Religion* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Zentrierung des Bösen im Satan sagen Menschen etwas über andere Menschen, über sich selbst und über ihr Gottesbild.

- Der Satan ist ein semantisches Potential zum Angriff auf andere und zur Sicherung kollektiver Identität. Eine sozialpsychologische These zum Urchristentum lautet: Die Satanssymbolik dient hier zur Kritik an der Selbstapotheose und Repressionsmacht politischer Herrschaft.
- 2) Mit der Vorstellung vom Satan sagen Menschen ferner etwas über sich selbst. Der Satan hat eine *psychologisch-anthropologische Dimension*. Dazu wird die These vertreten: Die Zuwendung zu Gott mit "ganzem Herzen" und die Abwendung vom Satan haben die Entstehung eines einheitlichen Selbstkonzepts des Menschen gefördert.
- 3) Schließlich sagen Menschen mit der Satansvorstellung etwas über ihr Gottesbild. Dazu wird die schon skizzierte *religionspsychologische* These vertreten: Der Satan enthüllt eine immanente Selbstgefährdung des Monotheismus. Nie können wir sicher sein, dass unbedingte Hingabe an Gott nicht in Wirklichkeit diabolischer Fanatismus ist.

Aufklärung über den Satan ist Aufklärung über eine real existierende dunkle Seite der monotheistischen Religionen. Wenn der Satan in den soeben genannten Thesen trotzdem auch eine positive Bedeutung hat, so soll das nicht vergessen machen, dass er in sich ein ambivalentes Symbol ist—voll erhellender *und* destruktiver Macht.

1. Der sozialpsychologische Aspekt der Satanssymbolik: Die Kritik an Mächtigen und die Stigmatisierung von Außenseitern

Wenn Menschen vom Satan sprechen, sprechen sie oft auf indirekte Weise von ihren Mitmenschen. Schon der älteste Beleg für den Satan (Sach 3) ist Dokument einer Gruppenauseinandersetzung. In ihm werden Kritiker eines Hohepriesters zurechtgewiesen. Dass solche "Verteufelungen" anderer Gruppen menschlich problematisch sind, braucht nicht betont zu werden. Die entscheidende Frage ist: Kann man den Satansmythos ausschließlich aus Gruppenkämpfen im Judentum ableiten?³³ Dagegen spricht folgende Überlegung: Zu

³³ Pagels, Der Ursprung des Satans.

sozialen Diffamierungen reichen Dämonen aus. Im Judentum aber setzt eine neue Dynamik ein, die zur Organisation aller Dämonen in einem einzigen Reich des Bösen führte. Im Urchristentum dient die Symbolik des Satans oft dazu, Herrscher anzugreifen. Bei ihnen erlebten die Christen beides: Selbstapotheose auf der einen, Tötungsmacht auf der anderen Seite. Beides zusammen führt zu einer "Politisierung" des Satans.³⁴

Die Versuchungsgeschichte Jesu ist die Urszene dieser Satansfunktion: Hinter dem Satan, der die Proskynese fordert, Reiche an andere verleiht und dem jüdischen Monotheismus widerspricht, werden Umrisse des Gaius Caligula sichtbar. Die Hybris des Teufels wird klar erkennbar, nicht sein Tötungswille. In der mt Passionsgeschichte benutzen die Jesus verspottenden Gegner dieselbe Argumentation wie der Satan in der Versuchungsgeschichte. Sie sagen: "Hilf dir selber, wenn du Gottes Sohn bist, und steig herab vom Kreuz!" (Mt 27:40), so wie der Satan sagte: "Wenn du Gottes Sohn bist, sprich, dass diese Steine Brot werden" (Mt 4:3). Deutlich ist der Zusammenhang mit der Passion auch im LkEv. Denn hier weicht der Satan nach der Versuchung von Jesus (Lk 4:13), um vor der Passion in den Verräter Judas zu fahren (Lk 22:3): In der Passion zeigt sich die "Macht der Finsternis" (Lk 23:53).³⁵

Im JohEv kommt der blasphemische Anspruch des Satans in dem Titel "Herrscher der Welt" zum Ausdruck, der in Gegensatz dazu steht, dass Gott alles durch den *Logos* geschaffen hat (Joh 1:1ff.). Das Handeln des Satans wird auf die Hinrichtung Jesu beschränkt. Weder vorher noch nachher tritt er in Erscheinung. Er ist aber seinem Wesen nach ein Mörder von Anfang an. Die, die ihn töten wollen, sind insofern seine Kinder (Joh 8:44). Sie sind es, weil sie in Abhängigkeit von den Römern geraten sind. Denn der "Herrscher der Welt" ist ein Symbol für die Weltherrschaft. Deshalb kann Judas als Verkörperung des "Herrschers dieser Welt" (Joh 13:30) eine Kohorte "nehmen" und ihr Befehle geben (Joh 18:3).

Sehr gut erkennbar ist die Verbindung von Selbstapotheose und Fremdaggression in der JohApk. Der Drache überträgt seine Macht dem Untier aus dem Meer, einem römischen Kaiser (Apk 13:2). Dieses

³⁴ Berger, Wozu ist der Teufel da?, 79-95.

³⁵ Finsternis und Satan sind in Apg 26:18 verbunden. Die Macht der Finsternis ist sicher die Macht des Satans.

Untier wird als Gott verehrt: "Und alle, die auf Erden wohnen, beten es an" (Apk 13:8). Das zweite Tier sorgt dafür, "dass alle, die das Bild des Tieres nicht anbeteten, getötet würden" (Apk 13:15). Hier wird deutlich, dass nicht die Kaiser selbst (das erste Untier) für Christen gefährlich waren, sondern die lokalen Propagandisten des Kaiserkultes.

In der *Ascensio Jesajae* inkarniert sich der Satan als "Herrscher der Welt" in Nero. Seine Hybris zeigt sich in seiner Selbstapotheose:

Und alles, was er will, wird er in der Welt tun; er wird tun und reden in der Weise des Geliebten und sagen: Ich bin Gott, und vor mir hat es keinen gegeben. Und alle Menschen in der Welt werden an ihn glauben und werden ihm opfern und ihm dienen, indem sie sagen: Das ist Gott, und außer ihm gibt es keinen anderen (*AscJes* 4.6–8).

Sein Wesen ist Mordlust—nicht nur gegen die Christen, sondern gegen die eigene Mutter:

Und nachdem es mit ihr zu Ende gekommen ist, wird Beliar, der große Fürst, der König dieser Welt, der sie beherrscht hat, seit sie besteht, herabkommen, und er wird aus seinem Firmament herabsteigen in der Gestalt eines Menschen, eines ungerechten Königs, eines Muttermörders, was eben dieser König ist,—die Pflanzung, die die zwölf Apostel des Geliebten gepflanzt haben, wird er verfolgen, und von den Zwölfen wird einer in seine Hand gegeben werden...(*AscJes* 4.2–3).

Und der Gott jener Welt wird die Hand gegen seinen Sohn ausstrecken und sie werden Hand an ihn legen und ihn kreuzigen am Holze, ohne zu wissen, wer er ist (AscJes 9.14).

Ignatius von Antiochien schreibt in Erwartung seines Martyriums oft vom Satan als "Herrscher dieser Welt" (*IgnEph* 17.1; 19.1; *IgnMagn* 1.2; *IgnPhld* 6.2 u.ö.). Er bringt sein Martyrium mit dessen Wirken in ganz anderer Weise in Verbindung. Er antizipiert: "Der Fürst dieser Welt will mich entführen und meinen auf Gott gerichteten Sinn verderben: Keiner nun von euch, die zugegen sind, soll ihm helfen" (*IgnRöm* 7.1). "An meiner Gelassenheit wird der Herrscher dieser Welt zuschanden" (*IgnTrall* 4.2). Ignatius weiß, dass die römischen Behörden es lieber sähen, wenn sie ein Martyrium vermeiden könnten—und dass es dazu mit Hilfe der römischen Gemeinde eine reale Chance gäbe.³⁶

³⁶ Die Verbindung von Hybris und Mordlust wird auch im apokryphen 3. Korintherbrief dem Satan zugeschrieben. "Aber da der Fürst, der ungerecht war, selbst Gott sein wollte, legte er Hand an sie (sc. die Propheten) und tötete sie" (*ActaPauli* 3.11).

Der Satan ist freilich nicht nur ein Symbol für die Gefahr des Bösen, er ist selbst ein gefährliches Symbol.³⁷ Oft wurden mit ihm machtlose Gruppen und Minderheiten angegriffen, vor allem Häretiker, Frauen und Juden. Das kam nicht von ungefähr: Die Symbolik des Satans wurde schon im Neuen Testament vereinzelt gegen diese Gruppen ausgespielt.

Am häufigsten werden *Häretiker* im Neuen Testament verteufelt: Ein uneinsichtiger Sünder in Korinth soll als "Fleisch" dem Satan übergeben werden, damit das "*Pneuma*" gerettet werde (1 Kor 5:5). In seinen judaistischen Gegnern wittert Paulus einen Satan, der sich in einen Engel des Lichts verkleidet hat (2 Kor 11:14). Er glaubt, dass der Gott dieser Welt die Ungläubigen verblendet hat und bezieht das auf seine Gegner (2 Kor 4:4).³⁸ In den Pastoralbriefen richtet sich die Satansrhetorik gegen Häretiker: Hymenaios und Alexander werden dem Satan übergeben, damit sie nicht mehr lästern (1 Tim 1:20). Aus 2 Tim 2:18 erfahren wir über die Irrlehre des Hymenaios: Er vertrat (wie das JohEv) die Überzeugung, die Auferstehung sei schon geschehen.

An einer Stelle richtet sich die Polemik speziell gegen *Frauen*: 1 Tim 5:14f. mahnt jüngere Witwen zu heiraten, Kinder zur Welt zu bringen und dem "Widersacher" keinen Anlass zu geben. Schon hätten sich einige abgewandt und seien dem Satan gefolgt. Hier wird der Satan bemüht, um Frauen auf ihre konventionelle Frauenrolle festzulegen. Wer aus ihr aufbricht, wird durch ihn gefährdet.

³⁷ Der moderne Satanismus knüpft in offenem Widerspruch zum Christentum an sozialdarwinistische Ideologie an. Vgl. folgende Zitate aus der Satanischen Bibel von Anton Szandor La Vey (Berlin: Verlag "Second Sight Books", 21999, zit. n. R. Fromm, *Satanismus in Deutschland, Zwischen Kult und Gewalt* [München: Olzog Verlag, 2003], 31): "Sehet das Kreuz, was symbolisiert es? Bleiche Inkompetenz, die an einem Baum hängt" (S. 34). "Liebe Deine Feinde und tue denen Gutes, die Dich hassen und ausnutzen—ist das nicht die Philosophie eines Spaniels, der sich auf den Rücken rollt, wenn man ihn tritt?... Wer die andere Wange hinhält, ist ein feiger Hund" (S. 36). "Gesegnet sind die Starken, denn sie werden die Erde besitzen—verflucht sind die Schwachen, denn sie werden unter das Joch kommen (...) Gesegnet sind die Mächtigen, denn sie werden von den Menschen verehrt werden—verflucht sind die Schwachen, denn sie werden ausgelöscht werden." Und dann heißt es: "Der höchste aller Feiertage in der Satanischen Religion ist der eigene Geburtstag, denn jeder Mensch ist ein Gott" (S. 97).

³⁸ Vielleicht sah Paulus bei ihnen eine Nähe zur politischen Macht: Seine judaistischen Gegner standen der Religionspolitik des Claudius näher als er, der in Widerspruch zu ihr missionierte. Die Gegner wollten den *status quo* bewahren und die Konflikte mit den jüdischen Gemeinden reduzieren, indem sie die Christen in die jüdischen Gemeinden re-integrierten.

Auch *Juden* werden mit dem Teufel in Verbindung gebracht. Juden, die Jesus töten wollen, gelten in Joh 4:44 als Teufelskinder. Gewiss sind nicht alle Juden gemeint. Aber gerade das JohEv schreibt in einer wirkungsgeschichtlich verhängnisvollen Weise oft generalisierend von "den Juden". Zur Geschichte antijüdischer Verteufelung gehört auch die Rede von der "Synagoge des Satans" (Apk 2:9)—vielleicht eine Kritik jüdischer Gemeinden, die in den Augen des Apokalyptikers zu loyal gegenüber dem römischen Staat waren, der für ihn eine Verkörperung des Satans war.

Alle diese sozialen Kontexte der Satanssymbolik entsprechen nicht dem Kern der biblischen Satansvorstellung: der Absage an eine sich religiös verklärende Macht, die das Blut der Märtyrer in Kauf nimmt. Die Satanssymbolik stellt den Menschen daher vor ein großes Entweder-Oder.

2. Der psychologisch-anthropologische Aspekt der Satanssymbolik: Die Verinnerlichung des Dualismus von Gott und Satan

Antike Menschen erlebten sich nicht als Einheit. Sie beherbergten viele Körperseelen in sich. In den Testamenten der XII Patriarchen finden wir z.B. nebeneinander die Vorstellung von vielen Körperseelen mit einer Pluralität von Geistern und gleichzeitig eine Satanssymbolik, die in diese Mannigfaltigkeit eine neue Ordnung hineinbringt. Das Testament Ruben unterscheidet sieben gute und böse Geister (*TestRub* 2.1–3.8). In diese Pluralität von Körperseelen bringt die Alternative von Gott und Satan Einheit hinein. Mit allen Kräften soll der Mensch Gott und seinen Nächsten lieben (*TestDan* 5.3; *TestIss* 7.6 v.l.). Ebenso soll er sich mit allen Kräften gegen das Böse entscheiden:

Zwei Wege gab Gott den Söhnen der Menschen und zwei Ratschläge und zwei Handlungsarten und zwei (Lebens-)Weisen und zwei Ziele....Zwei Wege gibt es: (den Weg) des Guten und (den) des Bösen. Auf ihnen beruhen die zwei Ratschläge in unserer Brust, die sie unterscheiden. (*TestAsser* 1.3–5)

Dieser Dualismus reduziert alle Differenzierungen; in seinem Entweder-Oder wird alles der Polarisierung unterworfen:

Wenn der Ratschluss sich...zum Bösen neigt, sind alle ihre Taten in Bosheit. Und weil er das Gute von sich stößt und das Böse annimmt und von Beliar beherrscht wird, so wandelt er, selbst wenn er Gutes tut, dieses in Bosheit um. (*TestAsser* 1.8)

Die 14 Geister von Körperseelen können jetzt auf zwei reduziert werden, was schon in der Gegenüberstellung von sieben guten Geistern auf der einen und sieben bösen Geistern auf der anderen Seite angelegt war:

Erkennt nun meine Kinder, dass sich zwei Geister mit dem Menschen abgeben, der der Wahrheit und der der Verirrung. In der Mitte ist der (Geist) der Einsicht (d.h.) des Verstandes. Wohin er will, neigt er sich. (*TestJuda* 20.4)

Dieses Entweder-Oder ist eine Entscheidung des Menschen zwischen Gott und Satan. Sie gibt ihm Macht über den Satan. Wenn er sich für Gott entscheidet, muss der Satan fliehen (TestDan 5.12; TestNapht 8.4). Ähnlich heißt es in den Qumrantexten: "Am Tage, da es der Mann auf sich genommen hat, umzukehren zur Torah des Mose, weicht der Engel der Anfeindung von ihm, falls er seine Worte einhält" (CD 16.4f.). Das Neue Testament kennt ein ähnliches Vollmachtsbewusstsein: "So seid nun Gott untertan. Widersteht dem Teufel, so flieht er von euch. Naht euch zu Gott, so naht er sich zu euch!" (Jak 4:7). Dazu passt, dass der Jakobusbrief vehement ablehnt, dass der Mensch durch Gott versucht wird. Er wird nur durch seine eigene Begierde verführt und ist verantwortlich (Jak 1:13-15). Die Satanssymbolik dient in diesen jüdischen und judenchristlichen Schriften also nicht zur Entlastung von eigener Verantwortung, vielmehr wird die eigene Entscheidung dadurch aufgewertet, dass der Satan fliehen muss, wenn sich der Mensch für Gott entscheidet.

Für die ersten Christen fiel die Entscheidung zwischen Satan und Gott in der Bekehrung. Der Paulus der Apg formuliert seinen Auftrag so, dass er die Heiden "von der Finsternis zum Licht und von der Gewalt des Satans zu Gott" bekehren soll (Apg 26:17). Das erklärt, warum Neubekehrte vom Satan gefährdet sind. Sie können einen Rückfall erleiden. Nachentscheidungskonflikte, die zu einem Abrücken von der Bekehrung führen können, werden daher im Neuen Testament manchmal auf den Satan zurückgeführt: Im Gleichnis vom vierfachen Acker und seiner Auslegung kommt der Satan sofort nach der Aussaat des Wortes und entfernt das Wort, das in die Neubekehrten gesät wurde (Mk 4:15 parr.). Paulus schreibt an die erst vor Kurzem für das Christentum gewonnenen Thessaloniker, um sich zu vergewissern, "wie es mit eurem Glauben steht, ob der Versucher euch etwa versucht hätte und unsre Arbeit vergeblich würde" (1 Thess 3:5). Nachdem Jesus zum Sohn Gottes durch die Himmelsstimme bei der

Taufe berufen wurden war, wird er unmittelbar danach vom Satan versucht (Mk 1:12f.). 1Tim 3:6 warnt davor, einen Neubekehrten zum Bischof zu machen, "damit er sich nicht aufblase und dem Urteil des Teufels verfalle".

Mit dieser Grundentscheidung zwischen Satan und Gott ist die psychische Funktion des Satans noch nicht vollständig beschrieben. Er wird im Neuen Testament mit weiteren Erfahrungen verbunden. Er verursacht Krankheit. Für Paulus ist seine Krankheit ein "Engel des Satans", der ihn demütigt (2 Kor 12:7). Lk schreibt summarisch über die Heiltätigkeit Jesu, dass er "alle gesund gemacht (hat), die in der Gewalt des Teufels waren" (Apg 10:38). Der Satan bewirkt ferner unkontrollierbare sexuelle Begierde: Ehepartner sollen daher nur mit gegenseitigem Einverständnis und für begrenzte Zeit auf die sexuelle unio verzichten, "damit euch der Satan nicht versucht, weil ihr euch nicht enthalten könnt" (1 Kor 7:5). Der Satan verhindert schließlich, dass Menschen zusammen kommen, entweder indem er Reisepläne durchkreuzt (1 Thess 2:18) oder die Versöhnung zwischen Menschen hintertreibt (2 Kor 2:11).

Für seine psychologisch-anthropologische Funktion ist entscheidend: Paulus hat den Dualismus von Gott und Satan verinnerlicht und den Satan in die Immanenz des Fleisches verlegt und die Jenseitigkeit Gottes zum Geist im Menschen gemacht, so dass daraus der Dualismus von Fleisch und Geist entstand.³⁹ Das "Fleisch" weist über den Menschen hinaus, deshalb kann sich Paulus von ihm wie von etwas Fremdem distanzieren: "Denn ich weiß, dass in mir, das heißt in meinem Fleisch, nichts Gutes wohnt. Wollen habe ich wohl, aber das Gute vollbringen kann ich nicht" (Röm 7:18). Paulus redet hier wie ein "Besessener", der von einer fremden Macht gesteuert wird und nicht Herr im eigenen Hause ist. Dieselbe dämonologische Assoziation weckt er an anderer Stelle durch die Rede von der Feindschaft des Fleisches gegen Gott (Röm 8:7). "Feind" war eine Bezeichnung des Satans (Mt 13:39; Lk 10:19).⁴⁰ Für Paulus ist der letzte "Feind" der

³⁹ Di Nola, *Der Teufel*, 204, schreibt über den "verinnerlichten Dualismus" des Paulus: "Der Konflikt zwischen 'dieser Welt', die von Satan beherrscht wird, und der Welt Gottes findet in erster Linie im Wissen um die Sünde und in der Versuchung zur Sünde in unserem Inneren statt."

⁴⁰ Der Satan ist der "Feind" in *ApkMos* 2.4; 25.4; 28.4 (ohne Parallele in *Vita Adams und Evas*). Vom "Reich des Feindes" (= des Satans) ist in *TestDan* 6.2–4 die Rede (in einem sekundären Textabschnitt?). Ein weiterer Beleg, *ApcBar*(gr) 13.2, ist ebenfalls jüngeren Datums. "Mastema" (= Feindschaft) war aber schon lange ein Eigenname

Tod, den er sich als eine dämonische Geistermacht vorstellt, die der auferstandene Christus besiegt und Gott zu Füßen legt (1 Kor 15:26). Paulus hat die dämonischen Mächte, die bei ihm objektiv existieren, in das menschliche Innere gelegt. Die Auseinandersetzung mit ihnen ist zu einer Auseinandersetzung des Menschen mit sich selbst geworden. In einer vergleichbaren Weise wird im Dualismus von Fleisch und Geist auch die göttliche Wirklichkeit ins Innere des Menschen verlegt: Gottes Transzendenz wird zum Heiligen Geist, der den Menschen als eine irrationale Macht ergreift, umtreibt und verwandelt. Obwohl es der Geist Gottes ist, geht er ganz in den Menschen ein und wird zum "Selbst der Glaubenden".⁴¹

Weil der mythische Dualismus schon vorher zur großen Alternative von Gott und Satan vereinheitlicht worden war, wird durch die Verinnerlichung dieses Dualismus auch das menschliche Innere "vereinheitlicht". Auf der einen Seite wird Hingabe an Gott "von ganzem Herzen, von ganzer Seele, von ganzem Gemüt und von allen...Kräften" verlangt (Mk 12:30 = Dtn 6:5). Dem steht die Absage an den Teufel mit allen Kräften gegenüber.

3. Der religionspsychologische Aspekt der Satanssymbolik: Die Darstellung der inneren Gefährdung des Monotheismus

Religiöse Symbolik sagt nicht nur etwas über unsere sozialen Beziehung und unsere Beziehung zu uns selbst aus. Sie ist ihrem eigenen Selbstverständnis nach eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Grundlagen des Daseins überhaupt, auch jenseits der eigenen Lebenswelt. Religion ist ein Dialog mit der Transzendenz.

Auf der einen Seite entlastet der Satan Gott und Mensch von der alleinigen Verantwortung für das Böse und wird dadurch zu einem systemstörenden Element im Monotheismus, zu einer Macht, die eigentlich nicht existieren darf und in der neuen Welt auch nicht mehr existieren wird. Auf der anderen Seite ist der Satan ein systemerhellendes Ele-

des Satans (Jub 10:8; 17:16; 18:9.12; 48:2.9.12). Der Begriff stammt aus Hos 9:7f., wo er nicht den Satan meint. Der "Engel der Feindschaft" (*mastema*) ist wohl auch in Qumran (*CD* 16.5; *1 QM* 13.11) nicht Eigenname für Belial. Dennoch dürfte der "Feind" damals eine geläufige Teufelsbezeichnung gewesen sein (anders M. Limbeck, in: H. Haag, *Teufelsglaube*, 280).

⁴¹ S. Vollenweider, 'Der Geist Gottes als Selbst der Glaubenden. Überlegungen zu einem ontologischen Problem in der paulinischen Anthropologie,' *ZThK* 93 (1996) 163–192.

ment im Monotheismus: eine selbstreflexive Religionskritik in mythischer Form. Er offenbart die Gefahren des Monotheismus. Denn der biblische Satan verdankt seinen Aufstieg aus der allgemeinen Dämonen- und Geisterwelt zum einen und einzigen Satan letztlich seinem Anspruch, an die Stelle des einen und einzigen Gottes zu treten. Seine Existenz in der monotheistischen Symbolwelt provoziert eine Dauerkrise des monotheistischen Glaubens, ob das, was man als Gott verehrt, nicht vielleicht der Satan ist, der nur so erscheint, als sei er Gott, ohne es in Wirklichkeit zu sein. In seiner Entstehungszeit hatte der Monotheismus nur den einen Gott gegen die falschen Götter ausgespielt. Die Unwahrheit lag bei den anderen. Mit dem Einzug des Satans in die monotheistische Glaubenswelt wird die Möglichkeit der Unwahrheit in den eigenen Glauben aufgenommen. Die abgelehnte Möglichkeit der "Götzen" kehrt in ihm wieder—vielleicht hat der Satan sogar Züge der abgelehnten Götter anderer Völker und Religionen übernommen. Auf jeden Fall wird der Satan zur Anfechtung. Diese Anfechtung hat die uns vertrauten drei Dimensionen von Welt, Mensch und Gott.

Hinsichtlich der Welt wirft sie die Frage auf: Steht hinter ihr vielleicht doch ein böser Wille, während der Glaube irrtümlich einem guten Willen als Grund der Welt vertraut. Religiöser Glaube wäre in diesem Fall aufgrund seiner Illusionsmacht etwas "Teuflisches". Schon die Gnostiker sahen bei den simplices diese Gefahr: Sie beteten zu einem stümperhaften Demiurgen. Aber die Gnostiker hatten wenigstens die Gewissheit, dass es jenseits des Demiurgen den wahren, gütigen Gott gibt. Die Anfechtung beginnt, wo das zweifelhaft wird. Diese Anfechtung gehört strukturell zum religiösen Glauben. Er basiert auf einer intentionalen Deutung der Wirklichkeit. Die Welt ist Ausdruck eines Willens, mit dem man sich sogar verbünden kann. Aber wenn ein Wille, eine Intention hinter allem steht, so können wir nie sicher sein, dass es wirklich ein guter Wille ist!

Hinsichtlich des *Menschen* wird bei jedem Impuls und Gedanken potentiell die Frage aufgeworfen: Stammt er nicht doch vom Satan? In der Religion investieren Menschen oft unbedingte Energie in etwas, was sie eigentlich ablehnen müssten. Die Religion wird durch ihre *Aktivierungsmacht* etwas Unheimliches. Die Kehrseite der Hingabefähigkeit "mit ganzem Herzen und allen Kräften" an den einen und einzigen Gott ist der religiöse Fanatismus. Die Aktivierungsmacht des Unbedingten ist nicht an sich destruktiv, sie kann für gute Zwecke eingesetzt werden, wird aber oft in unmenschliche Ziele investiert. Die Kraft der Heiligen und der Kriminellen liegen nahe beieinander.

Hinsichtlich *Gottes* aber wird der Zweifel in die Religion selbst eingebaut: Ist es wirklich Gott, der verehrt wird oder ein Satan? Der Satan tritt wie Gott auf—und als Antichrist sogar wie der Erlöser. Die Satanssymbolik klärt darüber auf: Es gibt eine Asymmetrie zwischen lebensgebender und zerstörender Kraft. Wir können uns unser Leben nicht selbst geben, wir können es aber zerstören. Die Hybris des Satans ist die Hybris des Menschen, der wohl durch Tötung sich als Herr über Leben und Tod aufspielen kann, nicht aber durch Erschaffen von Leben. In der Satanssymbolik enthüllt der *homo religiosus* seine Gefährdung durch eine latente *Zerstörungsmacht* in der Religion selbst.

Dass in der Satanssymbolik Religionskritik in mythischer Form enthalten ist, war für mich eine große Entdeckung. Mir scheint, man wird dem "Satan" dadurch gerechter als durch eine traditionelle psychologische Religionskritik, die im Satan die Ambivalenz der Vaterbeziehung sieht oder unsere Schattenseite, die wir nach außen projizieren. Das alles mag richtig sein. Aber er ist darüber hinaus die Schattenseite der Religion als eines objektiven Zeichensystems, das Menschen motiviert und bewegt. Der Satan existiert nicht in der objektiven Welt—aber er ist notwendig zur selbstkritischen Transparenz dieses Zeichensystems. Er warnt mit religiösen Mitteln vor der Gefahr der Religion.

Deshalb sei noch einmal daran erinnert. So verschieden die mythische Welt des Neuen Testaments von der entmythologisierenden Tendenz der Aufklärung ist, in einem Punkte konvergieren beide: Das Neue Testament verheißt eine satansfreie Welt durch das Ende des real vorgestellten Satans. Die Aufklärung verheißt eine satansfreie Welt durch Verbannung der destruktiven Phantasien vom Satan aus unseren Köpfen. Beide sind sich darin einig: Er soll keine Macht über uns haben.⁴² Als poetisches Bild einer religionsimmanenten

⁴² F. Schleiermacher hatte daher recht, als er in seiner Glaubenslehre schrieb: "Die Vorstellung vom Teufel, wie sie sich unter uns ausgebildet hat, ist so haltungslos, dass man eine Überzeugung von ihrer Wahrheit niemandem zumuten kann" (*Glaubenslehre* § 44, S. 211), und er fügte in einem Zusatz hinzu: "Am freiesten ist daher und auch am unbedenklichsten der dichterische Gebrauch; denn in der Poesie ist die Personifikation ganz an ihrer Stelle,…Es wäre daher nicht nur unzweckmäßig, sondern möchte in mancher Hinsicht nicht leicht zu verantworten sein, wenn jemand auch aus unserm christlichen Liederschatz die Vorstellung des Teufels verdrängen wollte." (§ 45. Zusatz, S. 223f.). Aber nicht nur unsere Lieder wären ärmer, auch unsere Witze, unsere Metaphern, unsere Dichtung und unsere Kunst.

Aufklärung hat er weiterhin ein Existenzrecht. Ohne ihn fehlte uns ein starkes Bild, um die abgründige Versuchung der Macht darzustellen. *Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely*, sagte der britische Diplomat Lord Acton. Die sich verabsolutierende politische und religiöse Macht ist etwas Satanisches.

STOICS ON SOULS AND DEMONS: RECONSTRUCTING STOIC DEMONOLOGY

Keimpe Algra

Introduction

Demonology is among the less studied aspects of Stoic thought. To my knowledge no comprehensive and thorough discussion is available in the scholarly literature. This may be partly due to the fact that the evidence is scarce and scattered. Another reason may well be that, unlike some more 'sexy' aspects of Stoic physics and psychology determinism, causation, psychological monism, emotions, selfhood demonology hardly connects with the contemporary, or even just modern, philosophical concerns or discussions that to some extent determine our research agenda. We nowadays tend to associate demons with bad movies rather than with good philosophy, and even theologians seem to have lost interest in the subject. Prima facie, one may also feel that demonology is a slightly embarrassing Fremdkörper within Stoic cosmo-theology itself. After all, in traditional religion demons usually represent the irregular, the unexpected, the strange and the supernatural. The Stoic cosmos, by contrast, is determined by a single perfectly rational and provident force, ordering everything for the best; its inherent order, which is intelligible to humans, is both the source of, and the perfect example for, human rationality. How would demons fit into such a worldview? It is tempting to draw a comparison with Spinoza, whose cosmo-theology in various respects resembled Stoicism. He and his followers in what Jonathan Israel has labeled the Radical Enlightenment expressly rejected the conceptions of demons,

¹ More or less brief surveys can be found in C. Zintzen, art. 'Geister,' section 'Hellenistische und kaiserzeitliche Philosophie,' *RAC* IX, ed. Th. Klauser (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1976), 640–667 and F.E. Brenk, 'In the Light of the Moon: Demonology in the Early Imperial Period,' in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Bd. II 16.3, ed. W. Haase (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1986), 2068–2145. For an approach from the point of view of the history of religion, see J.Z. Smith, 'Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity,' in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Bd. II 16.1, ed. W. Haase (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1978), 425–439.

witches, devils etc. still popular at the time precisely because they contradicted the basic idea that everything in the world occurs, as the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* puts it, 'through the fixed and immutable ordering of nature' (*ex fixo et immutabili naturae ordine*).²

However, the analogy with Spinoza may be misleading, since it overlooks some crucial differences. Spinoza conceived of his philosophy as a radically new and methodologically innovative way of dealing with the world. The Stoics—however radical their philosophy, particularly their ethics, may have been in some respects—were at the same time eager to establish some sort of connection with the preceding religious and mythical traditions of the Greeks. The edifice of Greek religion and myth, or so they appear to have believed, was in the end inferior in clarity and soundness to (Stoic) philosophy. Yet it contained kernels of truth which owed their existence to the fact that the people of old, even if they had had to do without a fully-fledged philosophy, had possessed 'natural concepts' or 'preconceptions' of isolated notions such as 'god'.3 This is not to say that the Stoics were the straightforward religious conservatives they have sometimes been taken to have been. In general they were rather selective in what they took over from tradition, accepting only those elements—concepts, myths, aspects of cult—which they could somehow appropriate and integrate within their physical and theological worldview. ⁴To a certain extent, they tried to rationalize the irrational, so to speak, or, as they would think of it themselves, they further rationalized and systematized the partially rational aspects of the tradition. This general attitude was most famously exemplified in their willingness to describe, or rather re-describe, part of the traditional Greek pantheon as parts or aspects of the single cosmic deity whose existence was taken to be proved by their philosophy.⁵

² See J. Israel, *The Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity* 1650–1750 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), esp. 375–405.

³ See K.A. Algra, Conceptions and Images: Hellenistic Philosophical Theology and Traditional Religion, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Mededelingen Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 70 1 (Amsterdam, 2007), 12–17.

⁴ For the Greek and Latin equivalents of the verb 'to appropriate', see Philodemus *Piet.* PHerc. 1428, col. vi, 16–26 (συνοικειοῦν) and Cicero, *ND* I, 41 (accommodare).

⁵ For Stoic philosophical interpretations of the early poets see Long, A.A. (1992), 'Stoic Readings of Homer,' in *Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes*, ed. R. Lamberton and J.J. Keaney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 41–66; repr. in A.A. Long, *Stoic Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 58–85 and K.A. Algra, 'Comments or Commentary? Zeno of

In the present article I propose to investigate whether and to what extent anything like an appropriation of parts or aspects of traditional demonology was effected in Stoicism. I shall chart the (relatively underresearched) evidence, reconstruct the outlines of the underlying theory, and signal some problems and developments. I shall begin (section 2) by offering a brief survey of the various conceptions of demons that were around in the pre-Hellenistic religious and philosophical traditions, and of the various functions assigned to them. I shall then examine the way in which the Stoics adopted and incorporated elements from this tradition (sections 3–6), and the extent to which their attitude changed in the course of the history of the school (section 7).

I have already indicated that the evidence on Stoic demonology is scarce and scattered. We know that Posidonius wrote a work On Heroes and Demons, and that Chrysippus discussed a number of related issues in various works, for example in his On Visions in Sleep and, at least in passing, in his On Substance. For information on the contents of the Stoic theory, however, we are to a large extent dependent on the relatively late and indirect information provided by the testimonies of Arius Didymus, Aëtius, Diogenes Laertius, and Sextus Empiricus, which are often very scrappy. The additional evidence provided by Plutarch involves problems of its own insofar as he sometimes appears to gloss over the differences between Stoic theory and the demonology of the Platonic tradition with which he was more familiar.6 As a result not everything he says about the Stoics in this connection can be taken at face value. All this means that part of our work will consist in an assessment of the nature and value of the available sources and of the limitations they put on any attempt to reconstruct Stoic theory.

DEMONS IN EARLIER GREEK THOUGHT

It is appropriate to begin with a brief survey of the traditional conception or conceptions of demons before the Stoics entered the stage. Probably no typology of demons in traditional Greek thought can cover exactly the variety of phenomena, traditions and beliefs current

Citium and Hesiod's Theogonia,' *Mnemosyne* 54 (2001) 562–581. For Stoic attitudes vis-à-vis the religious tradition in general, see Algra, *Conceptions and Images*.

⁶ Whether he was positively committed to such a demonology is yet another issue—one, moreover, which has proved controversial; see below, n. 16.

throughout the centuries. Yet, on the basis of the material collected by others,⁷ we may draw the following generalizing sketch of early Greek conceptions of demons. As for their nature, demons could be thought of either as beings of non-human origin or as surviving human souls. They could be good, bad or neutral. As for their function, they could represent and explain the unexpected or strange, or they could be conceived of as somehow supervising human affairs, either as a kind of guardian angels or as avenging spirits. These features could in fact be combined in various ways, as a few examples may make clear.

Demons responsible for the unexpected and the inexplicable are attested from early on in Greek literature. Thus, although the Homeric poems sometimes use the word *daimôn* as if it were a plain synonym for *theos*, they generally apply it in situations where one does not know which god one is dealing with, or, more generally, to denote a factor which is responsible for what is unexpected or not otherwise explicable. Demons of this kind may be thought to cause sudden diseases or psychic phenomena like madness (*Od.* 14, 488; 12, 295). In Greek folklore one also finds more harmless variants of this type, such as the *suntrips*, responsible for the unexpected shattering of pottery in the potter's oven, or the *taraxippos* responsible for the sudden and apparently inexplicable fits of panic to which horses are susceptible, as any horseman knows only too well.

Other demons were thought of as displaying a special relationship towards individual human beings, acting as a kind of guardian angels, stationed by their side and to some extent helping them to determine the course of their lives. In Hesiod (Op. 314) we find an early reference to this type of demons, even though the poet himself qualifies its actual importance: 'whatever demon accompanies you, working is better' ($\delta\alpha$ ίμονι δ 'οἷος ἔησθα, τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι ἄμεινον). A later example is found in some often quoted verses by Menander, preserved by Iulianus of Halicarnassus in the context of a commentary on the Old Testament Book of Job:

⁷ A lot of valuable material has been collected in J. Haussleiter, 'Deus internus,' *RAC* III, ed. Th. Klauser (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1957), 794–842, J. ter Vrugt-Lenz, Vrugt-Lentz, art. 'Geister,' section 'Vorhellenistisches Griechenland,' *RAC* IX, 598–615, and in Zintzen, 'Geister'.

⁸ In these contexts demons appear to differ from ordinary gods in not being anthropmorphic, and in not being susceptible to prayer or offerings.

With every man a demon stands as soon as he is born, a good mystagogue of his life [...]⁹

This view was adopted and adapted by Plato in the famous myth of Er in the *Republic*, where every human is said to choose his own demon, who will watch over his life and take care of the fulfillment of the road he has chosen (*Resp.* 617e; 620d, see also *Phaed.* 107d). Hesiod (*Op.* 122) assigns a similar function to demons that are of human origin. The souls of the first generation of man, the Golden Race, live on as good demons: 'they are called pure and good demons who roam over the earth, keeping off evil, guardians of mortal men' (τόι μὲν δάιμονες ἀγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι καλέονται / ἐσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων). They become guardian angels of a kind, in other words, though, it appears, not on a one-to-one basis. Plato refers back to this passage in the *Cratylus* (398d):

Hesiod and many other poets rightly testify that after death a good man will be accorded an important destiny and a great honour and that he will become a demon [...].

Yet other demons were thought to follow humans not as guardians but as a kind of spiritual police force or as avenging spirits.¹⁰ A notable example of the latter are the Erinyes. Policing also appears to be the job of a type of demons recognized by Hesiod as well (*Op.* 252–255), who 'keep watch on judgements and on evil deeds, in mist apparrelled and roaming over the earth'.¹¹

We now turn to some more philosophical conceptions of demons. Heraclitus fr. B 119, which claims that 'a man's character/habitus is his demon' (ἦθος ἀνθρώπφ δαίμων), may be interpreted as offering an implicit critique of, and an internalizing alternative to, the traditional conceptions of external helping demons we have just reviewed. This would be consistent with the critique and re-interpretation of traditional religion which we find elsewhere in the remaining

⁹ Menander fr. 714 Koerte: ἄπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται/εύθὺς γενομένω μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου/ἀγαθός [...]

¹⁰ Some examples: Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 1048–62 and *Pers.* 601; Euripides, *Med.* 1389; Empedocles fr. B 115, 5 and 13; Plato, *Resp.* 469b; 540c.

¹¹ Hesiod, Op. 252–255: τρὶς γάρ μύριοί ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρη/ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·/οί ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα/ἡέρα ἑσσάμενοι, πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ᾽ αἴαν᾽.

fragments.12 At any rate, what we have here appears to be the first occurrence of the philosophical conception of an internal demon. From Heraclitus onward this notion of an internal god, or of the divinity of (the rational part of) the soul became widespread among philosophers. We find it applied by Socrates in Xenophon (Mem. IV, 3, 14), and by Plato (Resp. 589e; Tim. 90a) and Aristotle (EN 1177a13).13

Finally, in the Platonic tradition, starting with the myth-like representation of *erôs* in Diotima's speech in Plato's *Symposium*, we find yet another philosophical use of the demon, viz. as an intermediary and mediator between man and the divine (or the transcendent).¹⁴ From Xenocrates onward we also find the view that such demons owe this intermediary position to their 'mixed' nature: a nature which has a share in the divine as well as in the corporeal. 15 Examples can be found in the works of, among others, Philo, Alcinous and Plutarch.¹⁶

In the following sections of this article, I shall investigate how Stoics took over the three main kinds of demons that the tradition offered: the (philosophical) conception of an internal demon, the traditional conception of independent external demons of non-human origin, and the conception of demons as surviving human souls, which they appear to have labeled *hêroes*.¹⁷ Whether they also took over the functions traditionally assigned to these demons is another question. A priori we may surmise that not all functions traditionally assigned to demons would have been equally congenial to a Stoic. Thus, the Platonic conception of demons as mediators would seem to be superfluous in

¹² On Heraclitus and religion see C. Osborne, 'Heraclitus,' in *History of Philosophy*, vol. 1, ed. C.W. Taylor, (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), 88–128 and M. Adomenas, 'Heraclitus on Religion,' *Phronesis* 45/2 (1999) 87–113.

¹³ A useful collection of material is to be found in Haussleiter, 'Deus internus'.

See also *Tim.* 40d ff. and *Leg.* 717a ff.
 According to Plutarch, *Def. Orac.* 416c-d, Xenocrates gave a mathematical expression to the theory by comparing gods, demons and humans to, respectively, equilateral, isosceles and scalene triangles (as having all sides equal, two sides equal, or no sides equal).

¹⁶ For demons in Philo see the brief overview in Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*: 80 B.C. to A.D. 220 (Londo/Ithaca/New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), 171-174. Evidence in Alcinous: Didasc. 15. On the demonology of Plutarch see B. Latzarus, Les idées religieuses de Plutarque (Paris: Leroux, 1920), 98-120 and G. Soury, La démonologie de Plutarque. Essai sur les idées religieuses et les mythes d'un Platonicien éclectique (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1942). According to Brenk, in 'In the Light of the Moon', these authors are too uncritical in assuming that all demonological passages in Plutarch reflect his own positive views.

We find these main kinds in Middle Platonism as well; they are explicitly distinguished by Apuleius, De deo Socratis 15-16.

the context of Stoic philosophy: given the latter's conception of an immanent god to which humans are closely connected in view of their own rationality, there was no real need for an intermediary between man and god. Neither did the Stoics need an intermediary to bridge the corporeal and the divine, for the Stoic god was himself corporeal. In addition, one would hardly expect the Stoics to endorse the conception of demons as representing the inexplicable and 'unnatural'. After all, the Stoic worldview did not allow any room for what falls outside the workings of ordinary causality, i.e., for the unexpected or irrational—no suntrips for Stoic potters, it appears, and certainly not for the Big Potter, the Stoic demiurge. In other cases the situation is less straightforward. Did Stoicism leave any room for the conception of demons as avenging spirits, working on behalf of the gods, or god? According to Plutarch it did, and he was believed by Pohlenz, who located the core of Stoic demonology precisely in this latter function, claiming that demons are 'Untergebene der Gottheit, die sie verwendet, um unmittelbar auf die Menschen hinzuwerken, als Helfer, aber auch als Henkersknechte, die an den Freylern die Strafe vollziehen'. 18 Yet Plutarch's testimony is of questionable value. I shall have more to say about it below, in section 6. But let us first turn to the other evidence

THE INTERNAL DEMON

I shall begin with a discussion of the Stoic conception of an internal demon. This is the natural way to proceed, not only because this conception is the only one that seems to have been universally shared in all phases of the development of the Stoic school, ¹⁹ but also because this conception of a demon as a rational soul appears to have provided the model for thinking about the other types of demons recognized by the Stoics. As we shall see, the Stoics thought of demons in general as 'psychic entities'. Accordingly, demons as surviving souls could be regarded as a temporal (and temporary) extension of the internal demon in disembodied form, whereas we shall see shortly that

 $^{^{18}\,}$ M. Pohlenz, Die Stoa. Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1947) I, 96.

¹⁹ Our sources ascribe it to the early Stoics (Diogenes Laertius VII, 88 = *SVF* III, 4) and to Posidonius, but we find it in Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius as well (some instances will be quoted in the course of this section).

non-human external demons were conceived as in some relevant respects analogous to the internal demon.

In Stoicism the conception of an internal demon is coupled with the idea that our soul, in virtue of its rationality, is of a divine nature and indeed in a literal and physical sense a derived part (*aposmasma*) of the divine soul.²⁰ Happiness—*eudaimônia*—is supposed to ensue when 'the god inside', our own *daimôn*, is in agreement with the 'will of the orderer of the universe'.²¹ This theory is well known and was accepted as a cornerstone of Stoicism throughout the history of the school. Yet as soon as we try to zoom in on the details, various questions arise.

A first question is how exactly the inner demon relates to what we might call the 'self'. Two at first sight different answers to this question can be found in our Stoic sources. Although the evidence is scanty, the early Stoic standard view appears to have been that the inner demon simply is the self: it is the soul, which is given a divine status in virtue of its potential rationality, whether this soul is de facto rational or not. Marcus Aurelius remains close to this standard view by using the hendiadys 'mind and god' (νοῦς καὶ δαίμων).²² Seneca and Epictetus, however, tend to present things differently. In their texts the notion of the 'divine in us' seems to have developed, at least at times, into the notion of what we might call a 'normative self': that purely rational being which we should be or which we strive to be, but are not yet in fact. A kind of superego, in other words, part of an apparently pluralized 'us', but at the same time presented as separate insofar as it guides and admonishes 'us'. In this latter quality it is in a way 'hypostasized', as the following passage in Epictetus makes clear:

[Zeus] has stationed by each man's side as a guardian his *daimôn*, and has committed the man to its care, a guardian who does not sleep and is not to be deceived. For to what other guardian, better or more careful, could he have committed each of us? So when you close your doors and make darkness within, remember never to say that you are alone. For you are not: god is within, your own *daimôn* is within. What need do they have of light to see what you are doing?²³

 $^{^{20}}$ See Diogenes Laertius VII, 143 (SVF II, 633): τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς, ἐκεῖθεν οὕσης ἀποσμάσματος.

 $^{^{21}}$ Diogenes Laertius VII, 88 (SVF III, 4): εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος ἀρετὴν καὶ εὕροιαν βίου, ὅταν πάντα πράττηται κατὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παρ' ἑκάστῳ δαίμονος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ <τῶν> ὅλων δοικητοῦ βούλησιν.

²² Marcus Aurelius III, 3; see also XII, 26 (ὁ ἐκάστου νοῦς θεός).

²³ Epictetus, *Diss.* I, 14, 12-14.

Seneca makes the same point in his famous letter 41:

We do not need to uplift our hands towards heaven, or to beg the keeper of a temple to let us approach the idol's ear, as if in this way our prayers were more likely to be heard. God is near you, he is with you, he is within you. This is what I mean, Lucilius: a holy spirit indwells within us, one who marks our good and bad deeds, and is our guardian.²⁴

With respect to Epictetus, Anthony Long has suggested that talk of an independent internal demon, which appears to 'pluralize' the person, should be seen as a metaphor or, better, 'as a way of articulating the idea that in listening to and obeying one's normative self one is at the same time in accordance with the divinity who administers the world'.25 In that case the differences between Marcus on the one hand. and Seneca and Epictetus on the other, may be little more than a matter of style and emphasis, partly due to the protreptic nature of the relevant passages in the latter two. After all, in such a context a colouring of the text in religious, rather than merely psychological, tones might be thought to be rhetorically more effective. But it may also be due to a more general difference between these Stoic philosophers in their way of dealing with the divine. Seneca, and to an even greater extent Epictetus, allow more room for a personalistic and a more strongly theistic way of conceiving the relation between god and us in other respects as well. Appearing to be less 'religious', Marcus Aurelius tends to see god in a less personal way. In his *Meditations* god is often simply called 'the nature of the whole'.

It may well be more than a coincidence, incidentally, that in hypostasizing and, so to speak, 'upgrading' the internal demon, these later Stoics were actually using the imagery applied by earlier Stoics to describe external supervising demons in the traditional sense (on which see the next sections). For at this later stage of Stoicism the traditional notion of demons as external guardian angels, which the early Stoics still seem to have been willing to accommodate, appears to have lost its appeal. We do not find it in Epictetus, and one of Seneca's letters explicitly rejects it:

²⁴ Seneca, Ep. XLI, 1.

²⁵ A.A. Long, *Epictetus. A Stoic and Socratic Guide to Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 165–168.

Lay aside for the present the belief of certain persons that a god is assigned to each of us as a sort of attendant, not a god of regular rank, but one of a lower grade, one of those whom Ovid calls 'plebeian gods'.²⁶

In the passages that follow, Seneca makes it clear that he regards this view as a primitive foreshadowing of the proper Stoic conception of the inner demon. The people of old, who came up with the view he describes were, in a sense, Stoics, or so he claims. What these people failed to see, however, was that this 'assigned guardian' is in fact fully internal. Perhaps we may conclude that Seneca and Epictetus hypostasize the internal demon by 'internalizing' the external guardian demon of the early Stoic tradition.

Another question which the Stoic conception of an inner demon calls forth, is how this inner demon is supposed to relate to the cosmic god. The inner demon, being our rational soul, is said to be an *apospasma* of god. This seems to involve two things. First, that our rational soul is of the same kind as god. Secondly, the prefix *apo*- suggests at the same time that it is a separate, individuated substance, not just a continuous part of god. As two separate substances our soul and god can interact, but how this works at the physical level does not become quite clear, except that we may presume that here, as elsewhere, it is cosmic *sympnoia* which secures a form of *sympatheia*.²⁷ Marcus Aurelius presents his god as being able to 'see', i.e., to be in touch with, the *hêgemonika* of the souls which come from him:

For only with his mind he touches what flows and comes from him into these entities.²⁸

And Plutarch quotes Chrysippus as saying that:

Zeus and Dion are benefited by each other, being wise, when one of them hits upon the movements of the other.²⁹

²⁶ Seneca, *Ep.* CX, 1.

²⁷ On the relation between *sympatheia* and *sympnoia*, see V. Laurand, 'La sympathie universelle: union et séparation,' in *Les Stoiciens et le monde*, special issue of *Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale* IV, ed. Th. Bénatouïl and P.-M. Morel (2005) 517–536.

²⁸ Marcus Aurelius XII, 2: μόνφ γὰρ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ νοερῷ ἄπτεται τῶν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς ταῦτα ἐρρυηκότων καὶ ἀπωχετευμένων.

 $^{^{29}}$ Plutarch Comm. Not. 1076a (SVF III, 246): ὡφελεῖσθαι τε γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Δίωνα, σοφοὺς ὄντας, ὅταν ἕτερος θατέρου τυγχάνη κινουμένου (see also Comm. Not. 1068f, SVF III, 627).

If we take such passages at face value, they seem to suggest that human souls are divine but also in a relevant sense independent. It is precisely in view of this 'independent' or individuated status of the soul that it can be said to be 'up to it' to adjust itself to the rationality of the cosmic god. Here we stumble upon a problematic feature of early Stoic thought. The fact that some things are 'up to' the rational soul certainly means that it can be held morally responsible for them. One cannot blame fate or god. Yet, the question whether and to what extent this independent status of the soul really involves causal independence, in the sense that our thoughts and intentions are not determined by fate, i.e., by god, did not get a clear and unambiguous answer. On the one hand, Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus claims that all things are from god, except what the bad do in their folly.³⁰ On the other hand, Chrysippus goes so far as to claim that everything, including our virtue or lack of virtue, is determined by fate.³¹ Yet, even Chrysippean orthodoxy appears to have left room for self-improvement through training, 32 so perhaps the blunt statement about our virtue being predetermined by fate merely means that our intellectual and moral predispositions are predetermined, but that how we use them is 'up to us'. If this is correct, it follows not only that the Stoic god is not morally responsible for the dealings of souls (and, as we shall see, by extension: demons), but also that he cannot be taken to be the cause of their wickedness. These are relevant conclusions when it comes to assessing the relation between god and demons—a subject to which we shall return later on.

However this may be, it is important to realize that the process of a soul's gaining or losing rationality (and, hence, gaining or losing virtue) has a physical side as well. As we know from other sources that inform us on Stoic psychology (especially the fragments from Chrysippus' *On Emotions* quoted by Galen), such changes in our rational attitude correspond on the physical level with either a strengthening or a loosening of the soul's internal cohesive tension (*tonos*).³³ This idea of a greater or lesser psychic *tonos* also appears to play a role in

³⁰ Text in *SVF* I, 537, lines 11–13.

³¹ Quotation from the first book of the *On Nature* in Plutarch, *SR* 1050a.

³² See on this question, and on the relevant evidence, S. Bobzien, *Determinism and Freedom in Stoic Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 290–301.

³³ See Galen, PHP IV, 5, 5 (SVF III, 473) and T.L. Tieleman, Chrysippus on Affections: Reconstruction and Interpretation (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 102-114.

how the early Stoics conceived of the possibility of the soul's survival after death, which is the subject to which we shall now turn.

HÊROES AS SURVIVING HUMAN SOULS

In our sources on Stoic demonology, external demons crop up as well. A first category is constituted by human souls surviving after death. As we shall see later on, the early Stoics as a rule seem to have referred to this species of demons as *hêroes*. An important piece of evidence in this connection is provided by Sextus Empiricus, *M* IX, 71–74 (*SVF* II, 812). In the course of his survey of arguments pro and con the existence of gods in the ninth book of *Against the Mathematicians* (the first book *Against the Physicists*), Sextus objects to the (Stoic) view that the early poets and philosophers are relevant and even important witnesses concerning the divine existence. He claims that one should in that case also take over the evidently false beliefs of the poets concerning what goes on in Hades. He then counters his own objection—on the Stoics' behalf—by claiming that there are philosophical reasons to reject these stories about souls moving down to Hades:

But, <retort the Stoics,> whereas the myth does thus contain within itself its own refutation, the conception of god is not of this kind, nor does it introduce inconsistency, but it is evidently in accordance with facts. Nor, indeed, is it possible to suppose that souls move downwards; for since they are of fine particles and no less of a fiery than of a vaporous nature, they rather soar lightly to the upper regions. Also, they persist as they are in themselves, and are not, as Epicurus said, dispersed like smoke when released from their bodies. For before that it was not the body that was in control of them, but it was they that were the cause of the body's conjoined existence and, much more, of their own. For having quitted the sphere of the sun they inhabit the region below the moon, and there, because of the pureness of the air, they continue to remain for a long time, and for their sustenance they use the exhalation which rises from the earth, as do the rest of the stars, and in those regions they have nothing to dissolve them. If, then, souls persist, they are the same as demons (δαίμοσιν αἱ αὐταί); and if demons exist, one must declare also that gods exist, their existence being in no wise hindered by the preconception about the legendary doings in Hades.

The philosophical considerations here adduced are of a physical nature: the whole idea of pneumatic spirits moving downwards, towards Hades, is just silly: their natural place is above, and from the sphere of the sun they descend to the region below the moon. They can persist, because they do not need the body for their coherence,

and they are nourished, as are the divine heavenly bodies, by exhalations from the earth. In their new rarefied habitat, moreover, there is nothing that can destroy them. If souls continue to exist in this way 'they become identical to demons' $(\delta\alpha'\mu\sigma\sigma\nu\alpha'\alpha'\alpha'\gamma'\gamma\nu\nu\nu\tau\alpha)$ —no doubt an oblique reference to the fact that, strictly speaking, the Stoics referred to surviving human souls as *hêroes* rather than *daimones*, on which more in the next section.

This text provides an interesting background to the early Stoic ideas concerning an afterlife of the soul, in so far as it suggests that these ideas were at least in part developed and articulated in the context of a polemical discussion with the Epicureans.³⁴ Whereas the latter believed that the soul needs the body for its coherence, the Stoics reversed this relation.35 However, other sources display the traces of a discussion within the Stoic school itself. While there was general agreement among early Stoics that survival did not imply eternity and that surviving human souls could last at most until the next conflagration, there was disagreement about the question who would survive everyone or merely the virtuous—and for how long,³⁶ Without going into the details of this discussion, let me just note that the question of the longer or shorter afterlife of souls appears to have been connected to their goodness and badness through the physical notion of (greater or lesser) 'tension' (tonos), a connection already discussed at the end of the previous section. It is not unlikely, incidentally, that this lack of consensus among the early Stoics on the details of their view fostered the relative skepticism we encounter among later Stoics as regards the afterlife of the human soul.

EXTERNAL DEMONS OF NON-HUMAN ORIGIN

These early Stoic ideas about the survival of individual human souls appear in many respects to have provided the model for conceiving the nature of external non-human demons as well. These were thought

 $^{^{34}}$ We know that both Chrysippus and Posidonius were engaged in lively polemics against Epicureanism as the most important rival system: see e.g. Plutarch, SR 1054b (SVF II, 539) and Eusebius, Praep. 261a (SVF II, 978) on Chrysippus, and Cicero, ND I, 123 (fr. 22a EK) on Posidonius.

³⁵ See Epicurus, *Ep. Hdt*. 66. On the relation of soul and body in general, see also Lucretius III, 323–416. On the body as container (*vas*), see III, 440 and 455.

³⁶ See Diogenes Laertius VII, 157 (*SVF* I, 528; II, 811); Arius Didymus fr. 39 Diels (*SVF* II, 809); Aëtius IV, 7, 3 (*SVF* II, 810).

to be similar in kind: all demons were seen as 'psychic entities' (οὐσίαι ψυχικάι).³⁷ Moreover, a Posidonian fragment suggests that their provenance was considered to be comparable to that of human souls. Macrobius tells us that in his work *On Heroes and Demons*, Posidonius drew an etymological connection between the word *daimôn* and the participle δαιομένος, which could be interpreted either as a variant of καιομένος ('burning') or as equivalent to μεριζομένος ('being separated or cut off').³⁸ In both cases Posidonius can be taken to have implied—at least this is what Macrobius suggests—that those people who had first devised the word thought of demons as coming from the aether (*ex aetheria substantia*). Moreover, these connections with burning and partitioning suggest that non-human external demons were also regarded as *apospasmata* of the divine pneuma, and hence as in an important sense analogous to human souls.

Several testimonia provide us with additional information on the early Stoic conception of external demons of non-human origin. A very general doxographical account in Aëtius adds the label 'the Stoics' to the names 'Thales, Pythagoras and Plato', for the *doxa* that demons are psychic entities and that heroes are human souls separated from bodies, their good or bad character depending on the kind of souls they were:

Thales, Pythagoras, Plato and the Stoics hold that demons are psychic entities; and that souls separated from the body are heroes—good souls becoming good heroes, bad souls bad.³⁹

We find a partial parallel in a passage from the general account of Stoicism in Diogenes Laertius. Here demons are said to experience *sumpatheia* with regard to humans and to act as overseers of human affairs. Heroes are now said to be the souls of good people only:

³⁷ See Aëtius I, 8, 6, quoted in the text below.

³⁸ Macrobius, Sat. I, 23, 7 (Posidonius fr. 24 EK): 'Nomen autem daemonum cum deorum appelatione coniungit [sc. Plato, Phaedr. 246e] aut quia di sunt δαήμονες, id est scientes futuri, aut ut Posidonius scribit in libris quibus titulus est Περὶ ἡρώων καὶ δαιμόνων, quia ex aetheria substantia parta atque divisa qualitas illis est, sive ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιομένου, id est καιομένου, seu ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιομένου, hoc est μεριζομένου'.

³⁹ Aëtius I, 8, 2 (SVF II, 1101): Θαλῆς, Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, οἱ Στωικοὶ δαίμονας ὑπάρχειν οὐσίας ψυχικάς εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἥροας τὰς κεχωρισμένας ψυχὰς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἀγαθοὺς μὲν τὰς ἀγαθάς, κακοὺς δὲ τὰς φαύλας.

They say that there is also a class of demons that experience sympathy with humans, and that keep watch over human affairs; and that the surviving souls of good people are heroes.⁴⁰

Two observations serve to connect these two fragments with the material discussed earlier. First, it is in these texts that we explicitly find the distinction between surviving souls, called *hêroes*, and demons proper. However, in view of the fact that, as we saw, Sextus claimed that surviving souls become 'identical with demons', the conclusion seems warranted that they are 'of the same stuff' as demons *sensu proprio*, so that we are not dealing with two unrelated species. It rather appears as if *hêroes*, i.e., surviving human souls, should be conceived as a subspecies of the class of demons *sensu lato*.

Secondly, the fact that according to Aëtius' account demons and *hêroes* can be either good or bad, whereas the account in Diogenes Laertius recognizes only good *hêroes*, may reflect, albeit in a slightly distorted way, the disagreement (briefly referred to above) between early Stoics on whether all souls survive or merely those of the good.⁴¹

We move on to Sextus, who offers an example of an argument for the existence of external demons next to some information about their possible role:

Also, if there exist on the earth and in the sea, which have very dense parts, a variety of living beings which share in the faculties of soul and of sense, it is much more probable that there exist in the air (which, as compared with earth and water, is very clear and pure) some living beings endowed with soul and intelligence. And in accord with this is the saying that the Dioskouroi are good demons, 'saviours of the well-benched ships', and that 'Zeus over mortal men, upon earth the

⁴⁰ Diogenes Laertius VII, 151 (SVF II, 1102): φασὶ δὲ εἶναι καί τινας δαίμονας ἀνθρώπων συμπάθειαν ἔχοντας, ἐπόπτας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων· καὶ ἥρωας τὰς ὑπολελειμμένας τῶν σπουδαίων ψυχάς.

⁴¹ See above, section 4. A further piece of evidence that might at first blush seem to be relevant in the present connection is Plutarch, *De Is.* 360e (*SVF* II, 1103), describing demons as intermediary entities between humans and gods. However, D. Babut, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), 397–402 convincingly shows that we are dealing with what is largely Plutarch's construct and that we cannot attribute the contents of this passage to the Stoics. Pohlenz (*Die Stoa*, I, 96) too uncritically accepts Plutarch's description of demons as intermediary entities as reflecting an essential feature of the Stoic conception: 'Sie sind Mittelwesen, den menschen an Kraft überlegen, aber schon in die Sinnlichkeit verstrickt und für Lust und Schmerz zugänglich'.

sustainer of many, thrice ten thousand guardians has set, <divine and>immortal'.42

We are first given an argument from plausibility for the very existence of demons in the sublunar region, i.e., in the air. If there are animals sharing the faculties of soul and sense on the earth and in the sea, it is much more probable that such ensouled creatures exist in the air. The context in Sextus strongly suggests that we are dealing with an argument of Stoic provenance; and in fact we find a similar, though not identical, type of argument in the Stoic account in Cicero, *ND* II, 42.⁴³ Yet the argument seems to go back to the early Platonic tradition: we find it in the pseudo-Platonic *Epinomis*, now usually attributed to the early Academic Philippus of Opus, and it recurs in Philo, Alcinous and Apuleius.⁴⁴ This reveals a certain common ground between Platonic and early Stoic demonology which is not surprising, given the early Stoics' debt to the early Academy. It is this common ground which presumably allowed doxographers, but also Plutarch, to lump together Chrysippus, Xenocrates and others when circumstances so required.

Sextus adds two references to the tradition, apparently adduced by the Stoics as being in accordance with their conception of demons. The second is a quotation from Hesiod, whom we know to have been widely used and interpreted by the early Stoics, 45 while the first refers to the wide-spread belief that the Dioscuri are 'saviours of well-benched ships'. From the various ways in which the Dioscuri were envisaged in Greek religion and art, Sextus' early Stoic source here appears to have selected the one particular role that fit best within the cosmological context of Stoicism: the Dioscuri as fiery, pneumatic entities, roaming through the air. 46 More specifically, the reference is to what we

 $^{^{\}rm 42}$ Sextus, M IX, 86 (SVF II, 1014). The quotation is from Hesiod Op. 252, also quoted above, n. 11.

 $^{^{43}}$ In Cicero's account the argument is meant to show the plausibility of there being living beings in the fiery region of the heavens; that there are living beings on earth, in water, and in the air, is being assumed as given. See for a similar version of the argument Aristotle *GA* III, 761b16 ff.

⁴⁴ See ps.-Plato, *Epin.* 984b ff. (significantly altering Plato's account of *Tim.* 92b); Philo, *Gig.* 6–8; Alcinous, *Didasc.* 15; and Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*, ch. 8.
⁴⁵ See Long, 'Stoic Readings of Homer' and Algra, 'Comments of Commentary?'

⁴⁵ See Long, 'Stoic Readings of Homer' and Algra, 'Comments of Commentary?' Note, incidentally, that the fact that the Stoics believed that what is valuable in Hesiod should be unearthed *through interpretation* implies that we need not assume that they took every element of these quoted lines at face value.

⁴⁶ By contrast, the way in which the Dioscuri are being referred to in the heavily Romanized Stoic account of Cicero's *ND* II, 6—i.e., as youths on horseback, fighting

nowadays call 'St. Elmo's fire', an atmospheric phenomenon on the rigging of ships, which in Greek lore, but also in later traditions, was believed to portent the ship's escape from a storm.

Like the brief account in Diogenes Laertius which we just discussed, Sextus' account suggests that at least one possible function accorded to external demons by the early Stoics was to play the role of benevolent watcher or guardian over human affairs—presumably in virtue of their sumpatheia—whatever that may have meant in practice. Another, but possibly related, role which at least Chrysippus accorded to surviving human souls, and Posidonius to demons in general, concerned divination. A passage in Cicero's *De divinatione* most probably derives from Chrysippus' On Visions in Sleep (Περὶ ἐνυπνίων).⁴⁷ The story offered by Cicero goes as follows. Two friends went to Megara; the one was put up at an inn, the other went to a local friend's house. In the middle of the night the latter got a dream in which his companion told him that he was about to be killed by the innkeeper. On closer consideration he thought nothing of the dream and went to bed. But then his friend appeared again, begging him that, although he had ignored his cry for help while he was still alive, he should at least not allow his dead body to go unburied. He gave directions as to where it was hidden. In the morning the friend discovered the body and the perpetrator was punished. Like Chrysippus' On Visions in Sleep, Posidonius also appears to have connected demons with divination. We have Cicero's paraphrase of his account of three forms of divination in sleep (Div. I, 64 = fr. 108 EK), which may well come from the book On Heroes and Demons. According to Cicero's Posidonius this kind of divination may take place:

- (1) through what the soul itself foresees, inasmuch as it is imbued with kinship with the gods; or
- (2) through what is provided by spirits of which the air is replete (plenus immortalium animorum); or
- (3) through what is conferred directly by god or gods themselves.

on behalf of the Romans in the battle of Lake Regillus or announcing the defeat of Perses—fits considerably less well into the outlines of mainstream Stoic theology. We may be almost sure that we owe this description to Cicero (or to a Latin source he used), not to the early Stoics.

⁴⁷ See the parallel version in the Suidas (*SVF* II, 1205) which is explicitly ascribed to Chrysippus; and the remark in Cicero, *De div.* II, 144 (*SVF* II, 1206) that Chrysippus' book was full of such stories.

According to Cicero these three categories represent three ways in which our selves can be influenced by the divine (*deorum adpulso*): through our internal demon and its kinship with the cosmic god; through external demons; and directly by god himself. Various elements in this testimony remain problematic—thus one wonders whether the reference to *immortal* spirits is correct (it may be due to Cicero rather than to Posidonius' original text), and the relation between (1) and (3) remains rather unclear⁴⁸—but the description of the second type of divination must refer to the role of external demons, whether of human or non-human origin.

EVIL DEMONS AND THE STOIC GOD

The examples of external demons discussed thus far all concern benevolent and beneficial demons. Plutarch claims that the Stoics also endorsed the additional conception of evil demons. In the seventeenth chapter of the *De defectu oraculorum* Chrysippus is simply classed among those committed to the belief that there are evil demons, with no implication as to the function(s) he assigned to them:

Not only has Empedocles bequeathed to us bad demigods, Heracleon, but so also have Plato, Xenocrates and Chrysippus; and also Democritus, by his prayer that he may meet with 'propitious spirits', clearly recognized that there is another class of these which is perverse and possessed of vicious predilections and impulses.⁴⁹

At first sight, the notion of evil demons seems hard to accommodate within the providentialist cosmo-theology of the Stoics. Doesn't it constitute an infringement on the overall goodness of the monistically-conceived providential ordering of things? On closer view, the analogy with human souls provides a way out: as we have seen, the doxographical evidence on *hêroes* claims that the (early) Stoics were committed to the existence of both good and evil *hêroes*, being the surviving souls of good and bad people respectively. In principle, what goes for *hêroes* may also go for demons of non-human origin. And as long as bad demons are believed to work on their own, just as good demons like the Dioscuri work on their own through *sumpatheia* with

For some details, see the commentary in I. Kidd, *Posidonius, vol. II: The Commentary*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 428–432.
 Plutarch, *Def. Or.* 419a (SVF II, 1104).

humans, there is no reason to hold god qua providence responsible for their actions, just as god is not responsible for the evil thoughts and deeds of man. They are themselves to blame for the fact that they use their providential endowment in a bad way. The role of providence itself only comes in at a higher level, or so we may presume: god will be able to weave even these evil elements into the overall fabric of his providential design, just as he can incorporate the effects of 'necessity' $(anank\hat{e})$. As Cleanthes' famous hymn puts it, Zeus knows 'how to make things crooked straight and to order things disorderly; you love things unloved'. Sa

Elsewhere, however, Plutarch goes one crucial step further, arguing that bad demons do not work on their own, but are actively employed or even sent by god as his messengers or executioners. The only evidence he adduces for this claim is a rather well-known fragment from Chrysippus' *On Substance* (Περὶ οὐσίας). The specific context in which Plutarch introduces his quotation concerns an attempt to show that the way the Stoics deal with the problem of theodicy involves crucial inconsistencies. On the one hand they claim that there is nothing reprehensible in the world, whereas on the other hand they also speak of 'cases of reprehensible negligence' (ἐγκλητάς τινας ἀμελείας) in serious matters:

⁵⁰ On the difficult question of the relation between moral responsibility, character formation, and fate in early Stoicism, see Bobzien, *Determinism and Freedom*, 290–301.

⁵¹ See also above, the end of section 3.

⁵² On *anankê* as a source of apparent (but *sub specie providentiae* not real) cosmic evil, see the end of Plutarch's quotation from Chrysippus' *On Substance*, printed in the text below.

⁵³ Cleanthes, Hymn to Zeus, SVF I, 537; with Bobzien, Determinism and Freedom, 346–349.

 $^{^{54}}$ For the Stoics 'substance' (οὐσία) is the passive principle, i.e., matter, as informed by the active, i.e., god. It is not surprising, accordingly, that in a work devoted to this subject questions concerning cosmic evil and the theodicy were addressed as well.

⁵⁵ According to F.E. Brenk, 'The Religious Spirit of Plutarch,' in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Bd. II 36.1, ed. W. Haase (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1987), 248–349, esp. 277, Plutarch's text rejects a belief in evil *daimonia* 'as contradictory to the notion of divine providence'. Yet, the existence of demons as such is not what this text is really about. Plutarch merely exploits the question whether the concept of bad demons could do the work it is supposed to do within Chrysippus' system (if, that is, we take the quotation from Chrysippus seriously), and he concludes that, given Chrysippus' monistic conception of divine providence, the introduction of evil demons fails to exculpate god. He is not concerned with the plausibility or implausibility of the notion of evil demons as such.

Moreover, although he has often written on the theme that there is nothing reprehensible or blameworthy <in the> universe since all things are accomplished in conformity with the best nature, yet again there are places where he does admit instances of reprehensible negligence $(\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \tau\iota\nu\alpha\varsigma\ \dot{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma)$ about matters which are not trivial or paltry. At any rate, in the third book of the *On Substance* he mentions the fact that such instances happen in the case of upright and virtuous men (ὅτι συμβαίνει τινὰ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς τοιαῦτα), and then says: 'Is it because some things are neglected, just as in larger households some husk gets lost and a certain quantity of wheat also, though affairs as a whole are well managed, or is it because base spirits are in attendance over (καθίστασθαι ἐπι) these things, in which case instances of negligence really become reprehensible as well? (ἐν οἶς τῷ ὄντι γίγνονται καὶ ἐγκλητέαι ἀμέλειαι). And he says that necessity is also involved in large measure'. ⁵⁶

The translation and interpretation of this fragment, especially of the penultimate sentence, present us with some problems.⁵⁷ Chrysippus should apparently be taken to imply that in the first case mentioned (the husk example in the good household) there is only what we might call 'negligeable negligence'—a negligence for which no one is to blame—whereas only in the second case there is reprehensible negligence. But it is less clear what role is being reserved for demons, and who exactly is supposed to be 'reprehensible'. Is it the actor at issue—

⁵⁶ Plutarch, SR 1051c (SVF II, 1178).

⁵⁷ For the sake of the argument I here go along with Plutarch's apparent view that the issue Chrysippus is talking about is why bad things happen to good people admittedly, something of a 'stock problem': see e.g. the extensive discussion in Seneca's De providentia. It allows him to pour scourn on Chrysippus' use of the husk-example: should we 'liken to husks that get lost the accidents to upright and virtuous men such as were the sentence past upon Socrates and the burning alive of Pythagoras by the Cyloneans and the torturing to death of Zeno by the tyrant Demylus and of Antiphon by Dionysius'? However, it is not entirely clear whether this is what Chrysippus had in mind. Plutarch takes the words ὅτι συμβαίνει τινὰ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς τοιαῦτα as implying that good people may suffer bad things on account of the negligible negligence of god. But they could also be taken to mean that it happens to otherwise good people as well to be negligent in smaller affairs. On this interpretation the question at issue is not why god has good people suffer bad things, but whether and to what extent god as well as good people can make small 'slips' or be careless in minor details, and whether they should be blamed for the results. In that case there is no reason to assume that the kind of minor neglect Chrysippus had in mind did in fact involve the suffering of good people like Socrates or Antiphon. Note that from a Stoic perspective such sufferings are in as sense indeed indifferentia, providing the material for what really counts: a virtuous attitude. It is in this sense that the common Stoic account in Cicero ND II, 167 can claim that 'magna di curant, parva neglegunt'.

and, by implication, in a cosmic context: god?⁵⁸ Or is it perhaps the demon which is at work?⁵⁹

However, such questions need not detain us here. What is relevant in connection with our present discussion is the nature of the claim that is being made by Chrysippus concerning the functioning of bad demons, and the way this claim is presented by Plutarch. As for the latter issue, we may note, to begin with, that there are several reasons to doubt the reliability of Plutarch's interpretation of the general tenor of Chrysippus' fragment. In the overall context of the preceding sections 32–36 of *The Stoic Self-Contraditions* (SR), Plutarch can often be seen to ignore the subtleties of the Chrysippean texts he quotes, using instead his own strict conception of Stoic monism to conclude that the Stoic god must himself be responsible for all these evils. This general parti pris may well have coloured his interpretation of our fragment from *On Substance* as well. For example, he appears to give a rather tendentious interpretation of the words διὰ τὸ καθίστασθαι

⁵⁸ This is implied by Babut, *Plutarque et le Stoïcisme*, 291, who translates: 'Ou bien est-ce qu' à ce genre de tâches sont préposés de mauvais démons, qui seraient à l'origine de négligences réelles et fâcheuses', thus suggesting that the intervention of the demon so to speak triggers the negligence on the part of the good actor. Presumably, the negligence at issue consists in letting the demons do their work, and it becomes 'reprehensibe' by the very fact that an evil factor is involved without being countered. Hence the one to blame would seem to be the actor—and by implication, god. In that case Plutarch would have his contradiction, but it is hard to believe that Chrysippus would be willing to make such a claim in any serious way, rather than as a stray remark—possibly a mere suggestion to be rejected later—probably quoted out of context by Plutarch.

⁵⁹ This possibility is at least left open both by Cherniss' Loeb translation ('or is it because base spirits have been appointed over matters of the sort in which there really do occur instances of negligence that must in fact be reprehended') and by the translation of A. Long and D.N. Sedley, The Hellenistic Philosophers, vol. 1 Translation of the Principal Sources with Philosophical Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 330 and 332 ('or is it because the sort of matters in which real or blameworthy cases of negligence occur have evil spirits in attendance?'). These translations are more neutral than Babut's in not adding anything equivalent to the latter's 'qui seraient à l'origine', and they allow the possibility that the one ultimately to blame in these cases is the demon who is in control, possibly because he fails to do what demons should do, i.e., be protective. This appears to be the view of Zintzen, in 'Geister', who in connection with the quotation from Chrysippus' On Substance claims that 'Unordnung in der Welt scheint das Werk pflichtvergessener, böser Dämonen zu sein, die ihre Aufsicht verkehren'. On this reading the good person-and if we may transfer the example to the cosmic level: god—is supposed to come out as free of blame anyway: in the case of the first example mentioned by Chrysippus (the husk), because there is no question of blame at all; in the second (evil demons) because the blame befalls the demons.

ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων δαιμόνια φαῦλα. These words probably simply mean 'because base spirits are in attendance over/oversee these things'. Yet Plutarch either takes the verb καθίστασθαι in a passive sense, meaning 'are being appointed' [i.e., by god] or assumes that such an act on god's part is at least implied, and he uses this interpretation to attack Chrysippus. If this is the case, he alleges, 'how can this be anything but an accusation of god as of a king who has entrusted provinces to evil and demented governors and generals and pays no attention to their neglect and abuse of the most virtuous men?' (1051d). This, however, is merely an inference on Plutarch's part. It may be due in part to the Platonic conception of demons as mediators between gods and men with which he himself was more familiar. 60 Yet, there is no reason to believe that Chrysippus had anything like this in mind. Indeed, it is not easy to make sense, in Stoic terms, of the idea of god actively sending out demons whose evil nature we may presume to involve precisely their unwillingness to follow the divine logos. Finally, it should be noted that the quotation here provided by Plutarch is put in the form of a question. This means that Chrysippus is introducing the workings of bad demons—however they should be interpreted—as a possible explanation for some forms of evil, next to others (note that the quotation begins with 'whether' or 'perhaps': πότερον), and that we cannot say with confidence whether and to what extent he was himself positively committed to this view.⁶¹ Plutarch plainly ignores this dialectical context. It may be significant, anyway, that he was apparently unable to find a more positive statement of the view at issue in Chrysippus' works.

⁶⁰ See e.g. Plutarch, *Def. Or.* 416 e-f: "Those who refuse to leave us the race of demons make the relations of gods and men remote and alien by doing away with the "interpretative and ministering nature" as Plato has called it [*Resp.* 260d; *Symp.* 202e]'. On the Platonic conception of demons as intermediaries or messengers, see also Philo, *Gig.* 12; *Somn.* I, 134–135; 141–142; Apuleius, *De Deo Socr.* 154. The notion that also bad demons can act as instruments or messengers of god also occurs in Philo, *Gig.* 17–18; *Qu. In Ex.* I, 23.

⁶¹ Elsewhere—in a fragment from his *Physical Questions* in Plutarch, *SR* 1047c (*SVF* II, 763)—Chrysippus can be seen to have advocated caution in matters where the evidence does not allow us to make certain claims. Perhaps his mentioning of various possible solutions may count as an instance of the required caution. Anyway, there is no reason to assume that in so intricate a theological matter as the theodicy Chrysippus had only ready-made answers available. Long and Sedley (*The Hellenistic Philosophers*, 332) label both the husk example and the explanation through evil demons as 'casual suggestions, probably never wholeheartedly incorporated into Stoic theology, with which they are scarcely compatible'.

All in all, it is impossible to draw secure conclusions, given the extremely fragmentary nature of our evidence. Yet, one is tempted to conclude that Plutarch offers a polemical context that may well be misleading on two accounts: first, in so far as it assumes that we are dealing with Chrysippus' positive views and, secondly, in so far as it interprets the quotation as implying that the Stoic god actively uses bad demons as his servants.⁶² The latter view appears to be more than anything a Plutarchean construct, and apart from Plutarch, no other source confirms it.

CONCLUSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS ON LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Thus far we have been studying the evidence for the demonology of earlier Stoicism, and of Chrysippus in particular. On the basis of this evidence we may conclude that the early Stoics up until Posidonius were committed to the following tenets:

- (1) Demons are psychic entities.
- (2) Our own embodied rational soul can be described as an internal demon.

⁶² The idea that the Stoics thought of evil demons as acting in the service of god, recurs once elsewhere in Plutarch's work, at Quaest. Rom. 276f-277a (not included in SVF), this time ascribed, albeit rather in passing, to 'the school of Chrysippus'. As I indicated earlier, it is a passage which Max Pohlenz took to represent the core of Stoic demonology (Pohlenz, Die Stoa, I, 96, quoted above, note 60): 'Why is a dog placed beside the Lares that men call by the special name of praestites, and why are the Lares themselves clad in dog-skins? Is it because [...] Or is the truth rather, as some Romans affirm, that, just as the philosophic school of Chrysippus think that evil spirits stalk about whom the gods use as executioners and avengers upon unholy and unjust men, even so the Lares are spirits of punishment like the Furies and supervisors of men's lives and houses?' Note, however, that in the context of the Roman Questions Plutarch's claim is a rather cavalier one. He does not adduce any Stoic text in support. The only evidence he offers elsewhere that might be interpreted as pointing in the same direction is our quotation from Chrysippus' On Substance which, as we saw, ignores the possible dialectical or even aporetic context and arguably misinterprets the term καθίστασθαι. In so far as I know, we have no clear indications of the relative chronology of On Substance and the Roman Questions, but we do know that Plutarch kept notebooks (hypomnêmata) in which he collected the alleged contradictions of the Stoics (See Trang. An. 464f. The practice is also referred to at Coh. 457d). This means that he may have had his notes ready at hand for a longer period of time, and that he may have employed them, or may have remembered their contents, while writing both the On Substance and the Roman Questions. Anyway, there is no reason to treat the passage from the Roman Questions as an independent piece of evidence.

- (3) External demons in the strict sense are non-human in origin, they are separated parts of the divine aetherial *pneuma*.
- (4) There are also disembodied souls of human origin, surviving after death and roaming through the air as psychic entities. Stricty speaking they are called *hêroes*, but we may perhaps assume that they were considered to be a subspecies of the genus of demons. Probably these *hêroes* are able to perform the same functions as demons in the proper sense.
- (5) Good external demons or *hêroes* are guardians and overseers experiencing *sumpatheia* with man. They may also play a role in divination.
- (6) There are also bad external demons, though probably not in the sense of punishing spirits working for god. We may assume, although the evidence is lacking, that they have not been created bad, but that their badness, as in the case of humans, is due to their own choice, accompanied by a relaxation of their pneumatic tonos.

The early Stoic demonology constituted by these tenets was integrated into the general framework of Stoic physics in various ways. Anti-Epicurean arguments concerning the cohesive force of the soul allegedly supported the possibility of separately existing souls. External non-human demons could then in analogous fashion be regarded as apospasmata of the aetherial pneuma. They were thought to be kept alive, quite like the divine heavenly bodies, by exhalations. Moreover, questions concerning the survival or non-survival of individual souls, and the good or bad character of demons could be connected to the theory of increasing and decreasing psychic tension (tonos). Such connections to the basic framework of Stoic physics suggest that Stoic demonology should not be seen as supernatural intrusion of traditional religion in an otherwise naturalistic cosmo-theology: the early Stoics in their own way tried to come up with a rational and 'physicalized' demonology. Accordingly, if we want to look for an early modern parallel, it is not the radical Spinoza we should turn to, but rather the many seventeenth-century philosophers who tried to integrate the allegedly 'preternatural phenomena' of traditional demonology into their physical or metaphysical systems of causation.⁶³

⁶³ Robert Boyle, for example, spoke of three categories of things: things 'supernatural, natural in a stricter sense, that is mechanical, and natural in a larger sense,

However, we have reason to doubt whether such Stoic attempts to fit demonology into the framework of Stoic cosmo-theology were in the end successful. Especially the notion of an external demon would present considerable difficulties, even from an internalist Stoic point of view. No ancient source informs us about a discussion of such difficulties among Stoics, but we can think up some of them by ourselves. First, there are difficulties of a properly physical nature. The argument for the survival of individual human souls, for example, was perhaps not as strong as it had appeared to some. For if the soul provides coherence to the body, the gradual deterioration and the eventual disintegration of the body might be thought to signal a similar waning away on the soul's part. As the Epicurean account in Lucretius stresses, we normally see psychic capacities, including sensation, waning as people approach death.⁶⁴ It is hard to imagine later Stoics to have been unaware of arguments of this kind.

Yet even if the existence of demons is assumed to be physically possible, one might still question their theological status, in particular their function within the overall providential scheme of things. Aren't external good demons, bringing about things that are at most preferred indifferents (such as salvation in the case of the Dioscuri) basically superfluous once we have our internal guardian spirit caring for what really matters, i.e., virtue or following nature? For sure, the early Stoics were ready to accord demons a role in divination, but Posidonius makes it quite clear that this was only one conceivable form of divination and that god could also communicate with man directly. If one takes on the larger, cosmic perspective, it is not quite clear what niche is left for demons anyway in an anthropocentric, providentially ordered cosmos—a cosmos which was after all defined, from the earliest stages of Stoicism onward, as the 'house of gods and men'.

All in all, then, one gets the impression that Stoic cosmo-theology could very well do without the assumption of external demons, whereas

which I call super-mechanical', apparently relegating matters to do with souls, spirits and demons to the third category. I owe this quotation from Boyle's *The Christian Virtuoso* to S. Clark, *Thinking with Demons. The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press , 1997), 305. In this book Clark offers an illuminating survey of the various ways in which many philosophers and scientists of the early stages of the 'scientific revolution' managed to incorporate demonology within their physics or metaphysics; see especially Clark, *Thinking with the Demons*, 151–160 ('Witchcraft and Nature') and 294–311 ('Witchcraft and the Scientific Revolution').

⁶⁴ Lucretius, *De rerum natura* III, 445-462, esp. 451-455.

the arguments adduced in support of their existence were weak and unconvincing. Such considerations may have helped to bring about the change of attitude which appears among the Stoics of the imperial period. Apart from ubiquitous references to the 'internal demon', demonology appears to have disappeared from the stage. In principle this could be due to the fact that the surviving works from this period predominantly deal with ethical questions. The strong focus on virtue and what is 'up to us' which is typical of these later Stoics would have made the concept of the internal demon a more appealing one to write about. But there seems to be more to this change. Seneca, as we saw, explicitly rejects, or at least refuses to seriously discuss, the conception of an external demon. Moreover, the later Stoics are known to have been relatively skeptical in so far as the afterlife of the human soul is concerned. Seneca comes up with various views in different contexts; Marcus and Epictetus seem to have grave doubts at the least, with Epictetus apparently preferring the view that our selves disappear, as we return to the physical elements. 65 Seneca actually seems to believe that such questions are beyond what can be safely established in physics, to judge from what he has to say about the human soul in general, viz. that its nature, place and source are unknown to us. 66 Of course such skepticism concerning the nature and afterlife of human souls could easily be extended to demonology in general.

The following, slightly paradoxical conclusion arises then. Whereas the great physicists of the Stoic tradition, Chrysippus and Posidonius, apparently went to great lengths to accommodate a serious form of demonology into their cosmo-theology, the great moralists of the imperial period took what not only anachronistically and in hindsight, but also within the context of Stoicism itself, could be regarded as the more enlightened view.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Seneca, *Ep.* CXXI, 12: 'nos quoque animum habere nos scimus; quid sit animus, qualis sit aut unde nescimus'. See also *NQ* VII, 25,2.

⁶⁵ See *Diss.* III, 13, 14–15. On the various views throughout the history of Stoicism on the possibility of an afterlife for the human soul see R. Hoven, *Stoïcisme et Stoïciens façe au problème de l'au-delà* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971).

⁶⁷ This is a slightly reworked and shortened version of an article that appeared in D. Frede & B. Reis, eds., *Body and Soul in Ancient Philosophy* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 359–389.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS RECEPTION IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

DEMONS AND EXORCISMS IN THE GOSPEL OF MARK

Geert van Oyen

Introduction

The theme of 'demons' and exorcisms in the gospels, especially in the Gospel of Mark, remains an attractive item for biblical scholars. The topic involves many questions: the presence of demons at the level of the historical Jesus; the cultural, mythical and anthropological setting of the demons; the redactional and theological intention of the evangelists; the cross-cultural relevance; the narrative meaning; the relationship to other biblical and non-biblical writings; the system of

¹ See A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger and K.F.D. Römheld, eds., *Die Dämonen. Demons. The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2003); M. Lurker, *The Routledge Dictionary of God and Goddesses, Devils and Demons* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004; German original: 1984); F.V. Reiterer, T. Nicklas and K. Schäplin, eds., *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings. Origins, Development and Reception* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007). For some recent references to exorcisms in the Gospel of Mark, see W.R. Telford, *Writing on the Gospel of Mark*, Guides to Advanced Biblical Research 1 (Blandford Forum: Deo Publishing, 2009), 26. He mentions the unpublished dissertations of C.L. Wahlen (Cambridge 2004: relation to Jewish impurity), E.F. Kirschner (Council for National Academic Awards UK 1988: Mk 3:22–30), C.M. Williams (Emory University 2003: Mk 5:1–20), S.W.-W. Chu (Vanderbilt University 1988: Mk 9:14–29).

² See for instance, G.H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist. A Contribution to the Historical Jesus*, WUNT 2/54 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992); Id., *In the Name of Jesus. Exorcism Among Early Christians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007).

³ E. Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, JSNTS 231 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); E. Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity*, WUNT 2/157 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2002); W. Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*. A Sourcebook (New York: Routledge, 1999).

⁴ T. Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts. A Sociostylistic Reading*, SNTS Monograph Series, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵ R.E.K. Mchami, 'Demon Possession and Exorcism in Mark 1:21–28,' Africa Theological Journal 24 (2001) 17–37; I. Selvanayagam, 'When Demons Speak the Truth! An Asian Reading of a New Testament Story of Exorcism [5:1–20],' Epworth Review 27 (2000) 33–40.

⁶ S.H.T. Page, *Powers of Evil: A Biblical Study of Satan and Demons* (Grand Rapids/Leicester: Baker Publishing Group, 1995); H.M. Jackson, 'Echoes and Demons in the Pseudo-Philonic *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 27 (1996) 1–20; A. Piñero, 'Angels and Demons in the Greek Life of Adam and Eve,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 24 (1993) 191–214; R.D. Aus, *My Name is "Legion"*.

demons and the hermeneutical problem of the meaning of good and evil for modern readers.⁷ Other scholars focus on the political, psychological and social aspects of the exorcisms. And one could even say, somewhat ironically, that some people are concerned about the very existence of demons!

Before explaining the approach that will be used in this article, I want to put forward one remark about what is commonly known as 'historical Jesus research'. Although, for several reasons, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the authentic words and deeds of Jesus, one can fairly say that there exists a rather general agreement that Jesus was an exorcist. Jesus cast out demons.8 The main argument for this conclusion rests on the coherence between Jesus' actions as an exorcist and his sayings. In this respect, Jesus' saying in Luke 11:20 is often adduced: 'But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out the demons, then the kingdom of God has come to you'. The coherence between this saying about the kingdom of God and Jesus' actions as described in the gospels is the main argument in favor of attributing exorcism to the historical Jesus. Moreover, being an exorcist was not very exceptional at Jesus' time, though it must be said that there are not so many nonbiblical texts which give as broad a description of exorcisms by one particular person as do the synoptic gospels. Anyway, analogy with other exorcists makes it easier to understand that people around Jesus could have seen him as an exorcist.9 Even today, the same 'magic' of healings and exorcisms happens in cultures where physical and mental illness are commonly explained by external evil forces that take possession of the human body or spirit. Jesus was an exorcist, but in his time he was not an exception.

Palestinian Judaic Traditions in Mark 5:1–20 and Other Gospel Texts, Studies in Judaism (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 1–99 (comparison of Mk 5:1–20 with the Samson traditions).

⁷ R. Fox, 'Can There Be a Reason to Believe in Angels and Demons?,' *Downside Review* 115 (1997) 112–138.

⁸ T. Söding, "Wenn ich mit dem Finger Gottes die Dämonen austreibe..." (Lk 11, 20) Die Exorzismen im Rahmen der Basileia-Verkündigung Jesu,' in *Die Dämonen*, ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger and K.-F. Römheld, 519–549, esp. 519: "Das Jesus Dämonen ausgetrieben und Kranke geheilt hat, gehört zu den sicheren Fakten seines Lebens". See also G. Theißen and A. Merz, *Der historische Jesus. Ein Lehrbuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1997), 265–266, 272: "*Logien* verbinden die Wunder Jesu mit charakteristischen Zügen seiner Botschaft, die in der Erzählüberlieferung gerade fehlen: mit der Gottesherrschaft, der Umkehr und der Heilsverkündigung für die Armen".

⁹ For many useful remarks on the principle of analogy in historical Jesus research, see Theißen and Merz, *Der historische Jesus* (see Index, 549).

While the general idea of Jesus as exorcist is widely accepted, the historicity of his concrete acts of exorcisms is not and judgment varies widely. This can, for instance, be seen in the conclusion of John Paul Meier, who, after analyzing in a detailed manner seven stories of exorcisms of which four are found in the Gospel of Mark, first notices that 'we must admit how meager the data and therefore how fragile our judgments are.'10 Then he comments upon each passage as follows: Mark 9:14-29 (the possessed boy) and the reference to Mary Magdalen in Luke 8:2 'probably go back to historical events'; the same is true for Mark 5:1-20 (Legion), but here the arguments are even 'less probative'; Mark 1:23-28 (the possessed man in the synagogue) 'may be a Christian creation, but it probably represents "the sort of thing" Jesus did during his ministry'; the Q-passage in Matthew 12:24 // Luke 11:14-15 (a mute [and blind?] demoniac) 'could go back to some historical incident, or it could be a literary creation'; and finally the story of the mute demoniac in Matthew 9:32-33 is 'a redactional creation by Matthew'. The caution and nuances manifested by Meier in the formulation of his conclusions are wise, but at the same time they reveal the complexity and weakness of historical Jesus research when applied on the concrete textual level. This impression becomes even stronger when we compare his conclusions with those of other scholars like John Dominic Crossan, who would propose other results.¹¹

The reason for this short introductory paragraph is to make clear that the historical question is not the most fruitful one and should not be at the foreground of our approach. The same is true with regard to the question whether or not exorcisms should be interpreted as miracles. This question can be answered neither by exegetical nor by historical study. We fully agree with Meier's view, expressed in the very last sentence of his section on exorcisms, that 'a decision that in any of these exorcisms a true miracle has taken place (...) goes beyond

¹⁰ All quotations are taken from J.P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew. Rethinking the Historical Jesus* Vol. II: *Mentor, Message, and Miracles*, The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York/London: Doubleday, 1994), 661 (italics mine).

¹¹ G. Van Oyen, 'How Do We Know (What There Is To Know)? Criteria for Historical Jesus Research,' in *Louvain Studies* 26 (2001) 245–267; Id., 'Markan Miracle Stories in Historical Jesus Research, Redaction Criticism and Narrative Analysis,' in *Wonders Never Cease. The Purpose of Narrating Miracle Stories in the New Testament and its Religious Environment*, Library of New Testament Studies 288, ed. M. Labahn and B.J. Lietaert Peerbolte (London: T & T Clark, 2006), 87–99; R.B. Stewart, *The Quest of the Hermeneutical Jesus. The Impact of Hermeneutics on the Jesus Research of John Dominic Crossan and N.T. Wright* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2008).

what any scholar can say on purely historical grounds'. So, what to do? Biblical scholars, navigating between the Scylla of historical certainty on the one hand and on the other the Charybdis of the religious truth claim, will have to focus their research into the presence of demons in the Gospel of Mark upon the meaning these stories have within the overall narrative of the gospel itself.

NARRATIVE READING AS METHODOLOGICAL STARTING POINT

The most promising way forward in the attempt to understand the presence of demons in the Gospel of Mark is to read the gospel at the narrative level. Recent insights yielded by new literary criticism rightly emphasize the coherence of the gospel story: the meaning of every single pericope is discovered best through its integration within the narrative frame of the whole story. The two last words are important: it is indeed within the story as a whole that one has to find the meaning of the smaller textual unities. The message of Mark is in the first place revealed through the understanding of the story in which that message is integrated.¹² Therefore, textual analysis of narrative characteristics at the synchronic level is very important, such as the development of the plot, characterization, description of conflicts, stylistic features, and rhetorical strategies. All these elements together constitute the first referential framework within which an event should be interpreted. It is within the limits of this narrative framework that subsequent questions can be raised about psychology, anthropology, theology, and history. The next question then becomes the following: how can anthropological insights, religious sciences, or historical knowledge help the reader to better understand the narrative? To be sure, the narrative approach does not exclude these other dimensions of the text, which I do not mean to label as less important. Rather, these dimensions can be seen as part of the breeding ground out of which the text as a story was born. And they are also the factors that are influencing again and again every new interpretation in every new generation, since the readers' context plays a very influential role in the formation of meaning. Nevertheless, the analysis of the narrative

¹² D. Rhoads, 'Narrative Criticism and the Gospel of Mark,' *JAAR* 50 (1982) 411–434, esp. 412: '...two major shifts of perspective: one a shift from fragmentation to wholeness, the other from history to fiction'. Rhoads is the first one to use the until then unusual expression "narrative criticism" and to apply it to biblical exegesis.

characteristics of a story remains for the reader the primary access route to the meaning of Mark's text. When reading in a narrative way, one is not hindered by, for instance, the question whether demons exist. The unprejudiced reader simply accepts that demons are a part of the narrative reality of the *story*. At first sight, this is not an easy attitude to adopt for rationalistic readers of the twenty-first century, because they may intuitively prefer not to reckon with the existence of demons and may hence like to eliminate demons from reality. This, however, would be in complete disagreement with the Markan perspective. The only way for scholars to overcome this difficulty is to find out how the meaning of the demons is woven into the thematic unity of the gospel as a whole.¹³

Reading the Gospel of Mark as a narrative story has at least one other important advantage, even if unfortunately we cannot fully develop it here. It makes clear to present-day readers that we are entering a story world with a worldview which is completely different from theirs. Readers have to become aware that in reading the gospels they are plunged into another world, where mythology and reality are mixed up. 'Reality' changes proportionate to the way in which our perception of reality has evolved; in this sense one could say that two thousand years ago reality was indeed different. Within this different historical worldview, the existence of demons was self-evident. For modern readers, reading the gospels is a very demanding task, because they permanently have to travel in their mind from the past to the present and vice versa only to realize and conclude that every reality is a constructed reality.

THE FIRST READING EXPERIENCE: A DOSSIER OF THE DEMONS AND THE VOCABULARY

Since S. Chatman's book on *Story and Discourse*, the starting principle for narrative critics is the distinction between *how* a story is told (rhetoric) and *what* the story is telling us (content, story). ¹⁴ One of the main

¹³ This is rightly seen by U. Mittmann-Richert in the introduction to her article 'Die Dämonen und der Tod des Gottessohns im Markusevangelium,' in *Die Dämonen*, ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger and K.F.D. Römheld, 476–504, 476–478.

¹⁴ S. Chatman, *Story and Discourse. Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978). The distinction forms the basis for the book of D. Rhoads and D. Michie, *Mark as Story. An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1982; ²1999 with J. Dewey).

insights of narrative methodology is to pay close attention to *how* the narrator has told the story. The way of telling already reveals something about the contents of the message in the story. It is this *discourse* level that has to be explained first. We therefore will begin by making a catalogue of the presence of demons and the vocabulary used for them in Mark and, in a second step, we will take a closer look at the actions of the demons and their interaction with Jesus. Anyone reading the Gospel of Mark can put together a simple dossier of its various references to demons and exorcisms. The use of normal, bold, and bold italic print alongside framed references will be explained hereafter.

<u>1:13</u>	prologue: Jesus with Satan in the desert
1:23.26.27	exorcism in the synagogue
1:32.34.34	summary
1:39	summary
3:11	summary
3:15	disciples
3:22.22 .22.23.23.26.30	theological discussion about Satan's kingdom
<u>4:15</u>	parable
5:2.8.13. 15.16.18	possessed man in Gerasa (Legion)
6:7.13	summary (the mission of the disciples)
7:25. 26.29.30	Syrofenician woman: miracle (faith)
8:33	Peter is called Satan
9:25	possession of an epileptic boy (faith)
9:38	who can expel demons?

In the scheme above, normal print is reserved for those instances where the evangelist uses πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον / πνεῦματα ἀκαθάρτα (eleven times: 1:23.26.27; 3:11.30; 5:2.8.13; 6:7; 7:25; 9:25; cf. three times in Matthew and six times in Luke), bold print is used for δαιμόνιον / δαιμόνια (eleven times: 1:34[twice].39; 3:15.22[twice]; 6:13; 7:26.29.30; 9:38; [and also in the longer ending of Mk 16:9.17]; cf. eleven times in Matthew and twenty two times in Luke) and bold italic for the four references to participle forms of δαιμονίζομαι (1:32; 5:15.16.18; cf. seven times in Matthew and once in Luke). It seems as if these words and expressions are used interchangeably. We further find Bεελζεβούλ, the ruler of the demons (3:22; cf. three times in Matthew and three times Luke), and Σατανᾶς (1:13; 3:23[2x]; 3:26; 4:15; 8:33; cf. three times in Matthew and five times in Luke). In contrast to its meaning in clas-

 $^{^{15}}$ Other expressions with πνεῦμα are πνεῦμα ἄλαλον (9:17.[20]), πνεῦμα ἄγιον (1:8 [10.12]; 3:29; 12:36; 13:11).

sical Greek, δαιμόνιον has an exclusively negative meaning in Mark.¹⁶ It is striking that two words frequently used in the other synoptic gospels are missing in the Gospel of Mark: διάβολος and πονηρός. These words not only make the figure of the 'devil' more personal and individual, they also put an emphasis upon the specificity of the actions in which the devil is supposedly engaged. Διάβολος in the New Testament 'is wholly the enemy of God and righteousness'17 and thus has to be compared, if not identified, with Satan, who is 'almost lacking in the LXX' and 'rarely used in Jewish literature of the Second Temple Period.'18 In Mark we find a relatively simple demonological system without much genealogy or attention to the relationships between the evil forces: Satan seems to be the leader of the demons, and though in the beginning of the gospel (1:13) he belongs to the mythic sphere, the narrator does not hesitate to use the same noun when rebuking Peter (8:33). All references to demonic presence occur in the first half of the gospel, the only exception being the expulsion of the demon of the possessed boy (9:25). 19 All in all there are four individual exorcisms (see the framed references in the list above) and four summaries that are clearly redactional. These summaries indicate that the evangelist himself wanted to emphasize the theme of the demons and exorcisms in his gospel.

The next step of the dossier is a brief survey of the actions of the demons and of what happens to them. We already mentioned the fact that the presence of demons is never a problem for the narrator. Their existence is self-evident. As to the question where demons are found, one can say that in the majority of cases they live inside human beings. Although a total identification of possession and illness does not occur in Mark,²⁰ in some cases it looks as if possessed persons share the same characteristic of suffering from a disease. Thus, the possessed person can be found to manifest certain syndromes of physical illness or the

¹⁶ G.S. Oegema, 'Jesus' Casting Out of Demons in the Gospel of Mark against Its Greco-Roman Background,' in *Die Dämonen*, ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger and K.F.D. Römheld, 505–514, esp. 507 with nn. 8–9.

¹⁷ G.J. Riley, art. 'Devil,' in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* [= DDD], ed. K. van der Toorn. B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 244–249, esp. 247.

 ¹⁸ C. Breytenbach (and P.L. Day), art. 'Satan,' in DDD, 726-732, esp. 731.
 19 In 9:38 the word is used in a remark by John, one of Jesus' disciples.

²⁰ Theißen and Merz, *Der historische Jesus*, 265; Söding, "Wenn ich mit dem Finger Gottes…", 524, n. 29 (with more elements of comparison between exorcism and illness).

moment in which the demon is leaving the body coincides with the moment in which some symptoms like fever or leprosy disappear from sick people. Nevertheless, it is not easy to assess the exact impact of a demon on the human person or to transpose the syndrome into modern categories. Only in some individual possession stories do we find a short description of the possessed person's behavior. This has allowed scholars to recognize a form of schizophrenia in Mk 5²¹ or a case of epilepsy in Mk 9.²²

Apparently, a detailed report of the behavior of the possessed persons was not among the narrator's main concerns, as he prefers to put the emphasis on the confrontation of the possessed person with Jesus the exorcist and on the consequences of that conflict.²³ This is sharply noticed by T. Söding: 'Jedoch ist von den Dämonen ausschliesslich die Rede, um zu zeigen, dass und wie sie ausgetrieben werden.'24 In this regard, it is striking that all references to δαιμόνια are related with a compound verb of ἐκ-: ἐκβάλλω or ἐξέρχομαι, i.e., with an action carried out by the exorcist. Indeed, the main function of demon possession in the gospel is that the demons subsequently have to be *expelled* or driven out of the people. In the Gospel of Mark, the exorcisms are performed by Jesus or by the disciples (6:13; 9:17-29). The standard procedure for expulsion consists in a 'shouting match' between the demon and the exorcist, with the verbal fight and its result accompanied by physical phenomena. The whole procedure seems to contain the following elements: the falling down of the possessed person (cf. 3:11), the recognition of Jesus by the demon, convulsive movements at the

²¹ For a psychological explanation of Legion in Mk 5, see among others, E. Drewermann, *Das Markusevangelium*, vol. 1 (Olten: Walter Verlag, 1988). An interesting remark on the influence of modern culture on the interpretation of the text is given by D.H. Juel, *The Gospel of Mark*, Interpreting Biblical Texts (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 113: 'While older readers often feel more comfortable with "scientific" explanations of the demoniac's behavior that offer a diagnosis by assigning the malady a different "name" like "schizophrenia," young people raised on films that depict demonic possession react with genuine interest in the supernatural dimensions of the story'.

²² But see J.R. Donahue and D.J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, Sacra Pagina 2 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002), who find the idea of epilepsy in the parallel version of Matthew 17:15, while Mark 'is not particularly interested in the medical diagnosis' (281).

²³ On the theme of conflict in Mark, see J.D. Kingsbury, *Conflict in Mark. Jesus, Authorities, Disciples* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989). Unfortunately a separate treatment on the conflict with the demonic powers is missing.

²⁴ Söding, "Wenn ich mit dem Finger Gottes...", 541.

moment of leaving the human person, and Jesus' summons to keep quiet. We will say more about this confrontation further on.

THE SECOND STEP: THE PLACE OF THE STORIES ABOUT DEMONS AND EXORCISMS IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK

Another aspect of the discourse of a narrative is discovered when we look at the place of the exorcism stories and the references to the demons within the global composition of the story. After all, 'a good bit of the drama in Mark's story arises from conflict between Jesus and unclean spirits'.²⁵ The short but very important passage at the end of the prologue (1:12–13) serves to indicate the almost apocalyptic seriousness of the conflicts that will take place further on in the Markan gospel:

- ¹² And the Spirit immediately drove him out into the wilderness.
- ¹³ He was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels waited on him.

Jesus is driven (notice the use of the verb ἐκβάλλω!) by the Spirit (notice the word πνεῦμα!) into the desert where he will remain for forty days in the company of Satan. Although Mark is using far fewer words than Matthew and Luke to tell the story of Jesus' temptation by Satan—in contradistinction to the other synoptic gospels Mark does not describe the contents of the temptation—, he is the only evangelist to mention the duration of forty days. The antagonists of the two preternatural camps are told to appear on the scene. Jesus, the Son of God (1:1.9), baptized (1:10–11), predicted by the prophets (1:2–4) and by John the Baptist (1:5–8), stands over and against Satan and the wild animals, an association which 'was already made in the prophetic oracle of judgment against Babylon in Isaiah 13.'²⁶ Next Jesus withstands Satan.²⁷ The concluding verses 12 and 13 clearly have a Christological as well as an eschatological focus. After having concentrated on the

²⁵ Juel, *Mark*, 70. A very helpful article (in Dutch) is B. Standaert, 'Marcus en de demonen' [Mark and the demons], in *De tijd is rijp. Marcus en zijn lezers toen en nu*, ed. G. van Oyen (Leuven: VBS-Acco, 1996), 79–95.

²⁶ A. Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007), 153.

²⁷ B. Standaert mentions the continuation of the theme of the superiority of Jesus, son of God, over against the angels and the demons in Hebrews 1 and 1 John 3:8: 'Everyone who commits sin is a child of the devil; for the devil has been sinning from

true identity of Jesus (esp. in vv. 9–11), the narrator suggests that his identity will become transparent in God's final victory through Jesus over Satan. While Satan, in his willingness to separate humankind from God (see 4:15), is the one who desires the death of the human person, Jesus is the one who brings God and humankind closer to one another.²⁸ In narrative terms, the story of the period in the desert is a very general and almost mythic statement that needs to be explained and demonstrated in the rest of the gospel story.²⁹ This is exactly what happens in Jesus' first concrete public action.

Because of its place at the beginning of Jesus' ministry and because of the many Markan themes already coming together in this first story, the expulsion of the unclean spirit in the synagogue in Mk 1:21–28 takes on a meaning that goes beyond the pericope itself. The text runs as follows:

- ²¹ They went to Capernaum; and when the sabbath came, he entered the synagogue and taught.
- ²² They were astounded at his teaching, for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.
- ²³ Just then there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit,
- ²⁴ and he cried out, 'What have you to do with us, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are, the Holy One of God.'
- ²⁵ But Jesus rebuked him, saying, 'Be silent, and come out of him!'
- ²⁶ And the unclean spirit, convulsing him and crying with a loud voice, came out of him.

the beginning. The Son of God was revealed for this purpose, to destroy the works of the devil' ('Marcus en de demonen,' 83, n. 2).

²⁸ P. Dschulnigg, *Das Markusevangelium*, Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 2 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2007), 69: 'Im Blick auf die Taufe Jesu, welche auch die Taufe der Glaubenden grundlegend bestimmt, werden ChristenInnen auf vielfältige Versuchungen durch Satan vorbereitet (4, 15). Im Gehorsam des Sohnes wird ihnen das Vorbild der Überwindung Satans und des heilvollen Lebens in der Gemeinschaft mit Gott vor Augen gestellt'.

²⁹ J. Delorme, *L'heureuse annonce selon Marc. Lecture intégrale du 2e évangile*, vol. 1, Lectio Divina 219 (Paris : Cerf, 2009), 68–69: 'Par rapport à ce qui suit, la scène de la tentation au désert remplit certainement une fonction qui reste à préciser.... Le récit passera d'un mode *mythique* (si l'on entend par cela la représentation d'un monde ouvert au-delà du visible) au mode *historique* qui convient à la narration des actions humaines. Il est important de souligner que le récit ne peut demeurer au niveau mythique. Ce qu'il situe à ce niveau doit se concrétiser, se vérifier, s'interpréter à celui des rapports entre les hommes.'

²⁷ They were all amazed, and they kept on asking one another, 'What is this? A new teaching—with authority! He commands even the unclean spirits, and they obey him.'

²⁸ At once his fame began to spread throughout the surrounding region of Galilee.

The reader immediately notices that Jesus' struggle with the evil forces, represented by the unclean spirit, begins to cause other conflicts as well. In the story not only the demons will be Jesus' opponents, but Jesus will have to deal with human adversaries on the earthly level as well. His conduct symbolizes his authority vis-à-vis the demons and vis-à-vis the scribes. By expelling the demon in an authoritative way Jesus provokes opposition from the official authorities who, as the audience knows, do not manifest the same heavenly authority as Jesus. The word èξουσία is preeminently used by Mark to characterize Jesus' ministry. The word occurs ten times, five of which can be found in the first half of the gospel. With the exception of Mk 2:10 ('But so that you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins'—he said to the paralytic—), each reference is found in the context of the presence of unclean spirits. Apart from 1:22–27, one may also look at:

3:15 And he appointed twelve,... to have authority to cast out demons. 6:7 He called the twelve and began to send them out two by two, and gave them authority over the unclean spirits.

Mark is unambiguous: Jesus' confrontation with the demons is about authority and power. The use of the verb ἐπιτιμάω (1:25; 3:12; 5:7; see also 4:39; and compare LXX Zech 3:2: 'And the LORD said to Satan, "The LORD rebuke you, O Satan! The LORD who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you!"') is distinctive for the serious character of the struggle.³¹ Jesus' opposition to the demons is the result of a battle that is taking place at a transcendental level between God and Satan.

In the five conflict scenes of Mk 2:1–3:6 the opposition between the Pharisees and Jesus intensifies rapidly. It reaches its first climax when the Pharisees and scribes conspire to kill Jesus (3:6). Thereafter, Jesus chooses the twelve 'apostles' and, just as the first call of the disciples

 $^{^{30}}$ The other references are $11:28^2.29.33$ (conflict about authority with the chief priests, the scribes and the elders); 13:34.

³¹ On the terminology of the struggle between Jesus and the demons, see Mittmann-Richert, 'Die Dämonen und der Tod,' 488–489, n. 31.

in 1:16–20 was followed by a pericope about demons, this second call is followed by a third important passage about demons in which the theological implications of the conflict are elaborated (3:22–29):

- ²² And the scribes who came down from Jerusalem said, 'He has Beelzebul, and by the ruler of the demons he casts out demons.'
- ²³ And he called them to him, and spoke to them in parables, 'How can Satan cast out Satan?
- ²⁴ If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand.
- ²⁵ And if a house is divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand.
- ²⁶ And if Satan has risen up against himself and is divided, he cannot stand, but his end has come.
- ²⁷ But no one can enter a strong man's house and plunder his property without first tying up the strong man; then indeed the house can be plundered.
- ²⁸ Truly I tell you, people will be forgiven for their sins and whatever blasphemies they utter;
- ²⁹ but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit can never have forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin'—

30 for they had said, 'He has an unclean spirit.'

While reading this pericope, the reader understands how it contains the heart of the meaning of Jesus' actions against the demons. The evangelist has put on Jesus' lips one of the most severe sayings found in the gospels (3:28–29). The people around Jesus and the Markan audience now will have to make up their minds. They find themselves in a situation where they have to make a radical choice: either they choose Jesus and the Holy Spirit or they choose the world of Satan. The tactics employed by their opponents, who had come from Jerusalem to ask critical questions, are very simple and not at all innovative. They accuse the good person of being the bad one. Jesus, who liberates people from possession by demonic forces, now finds himself accused of being possessed. And, as so often in the disputes with his opponents, Jesus answers with a kind of riddle that not only manifests his superior authority but also unmasks their false reasoning.

One can easily distinguish three parts in Jesus' answer.³² First, he says something like: 'So what? What are you worried about? Let me do as I like to do, as long as the outcome will be that Satan will be beaten' (vv. 23b–26). V. 23 clearly shows the absurdity of their reasoning: 'How

³² Standaert, 'Marcus en de demonen,' 86; Delorme, L'heureuse annonce, 237.

can Satan cast out Satan?' In the second part he points to the fact that in reality things are very different: Iesus is able to defeat Satan only because he is much stronger than the devil (v. 27).33 And finally, he fights back (vv. 28–29) by making clear that they have to make a choice between Satan and himself or the Holy Spirit; cf. 1:12; 1:25). Once again, the whole discussion makes clear that the theme of this pericope is about authority. This is highlighted by two further details. First, the word 'the strong one' (ὁ ἰσχυρός, v. 27) which points to Satan, makes one think of the only other passage in which Mark uses this same word in a comparative form: 'The one who is more powerful [ὁ ἰσχυρότερός] than I is coming after me' (1:7). Second, in 3:24, Mark does not use the metaphor of the kingdom by chance (καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθ $\hat{\eta}$). The announcement of the coming of the kingdom is at the heart of Jesus' proclamation: in presenting the battle as a duel between himself and Satan, the latter's kingdom becomes the opposite of the kingdom of God! The only one who brings the real kingdom, the kingdom of God, is Jesus (1:14-15; 4:1-34, etc.).34 Nowhere else in the gospel is the opposition between both parties stated in such a sharp way. In the end, the whole discussion is about βλασφημία, which is exactly the main charge against Jesus (14:64). The reader could not face a more obvious choice: who is the real blasphemer?³⁵

Two stories remain that also deserve to be mentioned, one about the possessed man Legion and the pigs in Mk 5:1–20 ('by far the most elaborate and enigmatic gospel miracle story'³⁶), and the other about the healing of the possessed child in Mk 9:14–29. An implicit critique of Roman power may be subtly present in the background of Mk 5:1–20.³⁷ In my opinion the specific focus of Mk 9:14–29 is not the miracle

³³ This is the interpretation given by the majority of the exegetes. But Delorme rightly emphasizes that another reading is possible as well: Jesus is the strong man while the scribes are trying to tie him up and to plunder his house. In fact, the image does not focus on the identity of the actors but on their authority and force.

 $^{^{34}}$ This is exactly the theme of the article by Söding, "Wenn ich mit dem Finger Gottes...".

³⁵ Mittmann-Richert, 'Die Dämonen und der Tod,' 487, n. 27 and 490-491.

³⁶ Donahue and Harrington, The Gospel of Mark, 169.

³⁷ On this interpretation—not shared by all exegetes (see, e.g., other positions in the commentaries by Yarbro Collins [269: "no theme of opposition to Rome in Mark"] or by Donahue and Harrington [166])—see C. Burdon, '"To the Other Side". Construction of Evil and Fear of Liberation in Mark 5.1–20,' *JSNT* 27 (2004) 149–167. One finds the following arguments in modern literature: the crossing of the lake to "the other side" in the region of Gerasa, the fact that the man lived among the tombs, the name of the demon 'Legion', the presence of the pigs. Caesar's *Legio decima Fretensis*,

of the exorcism itself. The healing, without recognition or summons to be silent, rather functions as an integrated part of Jesus' instruction to the disciples concerning the relationship of his followers and 'strangers' who are acting in his name (cf. 9:38–41). Thus we could say that all exorcism stories can be found in the beginning of the gospel, more precisely in Mark 1–6. They are found in that section of the gospel in which Jesus is presented as a glorious person who meets with a lot of success. This consideration will raise the question of the relationship of those exorcisms to the second part of the gospel in which the passion is the central theme.

But before we explain this relationship, it is time for an intermediate conclusion. From the simple findings about *how* the story is told, we have learned a great deal about the meaning of the demons within the story:

- The presence of demons is accepted and is part of the narrator's worldview that is different from ours.
- Exorcisms are presented as hard confrontations and struggles between the demons and Jesus, but Jesus is always successful and he comes out the winner. Nevertheless, the real confrontation takes place on a deeper and more encompassing level. It is the struggle of God versus Satan.
- This leads us to interpret the confrontations between Jesus and the demons as illustrations of what I consider to be the essential question of the Gospel: who has the real authority over the world? Who is the one who commands? Who has the final word? From the perspective of the audience of the gospel this question translates into

which had the image of a boar on its standard, was present in Syria from 17 till 66 CE. More literature: F. Annen, *Heil für die Heiden. Zur Bedeutung und Geschichte der Tradition von besessennen Gerasener (Mk 5, 1–20 parr.)*, Frankfurter Theologische Studien 20 (Frankfurt/M.: Josef Knecht, 1976); D. Jasper, 'Siding with the Swine: A Moral Problem for Narrative,' in *The Daemonic Imagination. Biblical Text and Secular Story*, American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion 60, ed. R. Detweiler and W.G. Doty (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990), 65–75; R. Girard, 'The Demons of Gerasa,' in *ibid.*, 77–98; E.S. Johnson, 'Mark 5:1–20: The Other Side,' *Irish Biblical Studies* 20 (1998) 50–74; D. Jasper, 'The Gaps in the Story: The Implied Reader in Mark 5:1–20,' *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 64 (1999) 79–88; R. Dormandy, 'The Expulsion of Legion. A Political Reading of Mark 5:1–20,' *Expository Times* 111 (2000) 335–337; N.J. Torchia, 'Eschatological Elements in Jesus' Healing of the Gerasene Demoniac. An Exegesis of Mk. 5:1–20,' *Irish Biblical Studies* 23 (2001) 2–27.

- the following one: will the reader or listener of the gospel finally choose God or will he choose Satan?
- Because Jesus is an intermediary figure between God and the world, the answer to the last question ultimately depends on the reader's opinion about Jesus' identity. The combat between Jesus and the demons over who has authority and power is not to be separated from the question of Jesus' identity. Therefore, this last point deserves our final attention.

THE THIRD STAGE: WHO IS JESUS? MARK AND HIS READERS

One important aspect of the confrontation between Jesus and the demons has not been mentioned until now: the recognition by the unclean spirits of Jesus as the Son of God and Jesus' subsequent command to be silent. It can be found in different forms in 1:25; 1:34; 3:11; 5:7. These references clearly indicate that the deepest meaning of the exorcisms is to be found in their relationship with the proclamation of Jesus' identity. Why is it that Jesus does not allow the demons to reveal his true identity? The answer to that question lies hidden within one of the many paradoxes in the Gospel of Mark. The paradox here is that the possessed people, although characterized as negative figures because they are Jesus' opponents, still have a positive function in the story. While Jesus forbids them to speak his name and proclaim his identity, he can only do so after they have already identified him as the Son of God. Rather than omitting those stories about the revelation of Jesus by the demons, Mark regarded them as very useful for his story. Paradoxically, he thus used the enemies of Jesus to make the latter's identity known in the world. One could even say that they do more than simply reveal Jesus' true identity. They become, as it were, the heralds of the divine relationship of Jesus with his Father. It is remarkable that this revelation and this proclamation together with Jesus' summons to silence do not provoke more reactions from those who are around him at that moment. It is as if none of the bystanders has heard the words of the demons, for their revelations do not seem to impact the plot dramatically. How can this be explained?

Only one answer is possible here. Mark clearly presents these scenes as messages for the *readers*. On the discourse level of the story the demons play a positive role, inasmuch as their revelation of Jesus' identity announces to the readers the crucial choice that they face. For

more than a century now, ever since William Wrede's Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien (1901), the scheme of demons or possessed people revealing Jesus' identity followed by an injunction to silence by Jesus has been recognized as a substantial aspect of the so-called 'messianic secret.'38 Here we hit upon yet another major paradox of Mark's Gospel: although Jesus is doing everything he can to delay or even to prevent the revelation and proclamation of his divine identity, it is Mark's own conviction that Iesus is the Son of God (1:1). While these injunctions to silence in Mark are to some extent part and parcel of the way in which the individual exorcisms are typically described, in the redactional summaries there can be no place for misunderstanding: the *demons* are silenced because *they* know who Jesus is. The fact that precisely Jesus' opponents are the ones proclaiming his identity carries the inherent risk of awakening feelings of ambiguity and confusion on the part of the reader. Why should one believe them when they recognize Jesus and confess he is the Son of God? The reason why their words about Jesus are such a source of confusion and ambiguity is because the demons uttering them have power over human beings.

How then should the reader interpret their confessions: are they a sort of humble recognition of Jesus' superiority by the evil powers? Are they a kind of self-accusation? Are the demons trying to get Jesus on their side? Should one trust their words or are they speaking falsely in order to please Jesus? It seems the reader may remain fundamentally uncertain about the intention and the true meaning of the confes-

³⁸ W. Wrede, Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901). The theme has dominated Markan exegesis in the twentieth century. Many questions were debated: is it one single theme or are there subthemes (like commandments of silence to the disciples and to the demons, the parable theory in 4:10-13; Jesus' desire to remain hidden)? Is it a pre-Markan or a Markan theme? Is it to be understood at a historical, redactional or theological level of the text? In recent times narrative criticism and reader response criticism have also influenced the interpretation of the messianic secret. More and more it is understood as part of Mark's strategy for communication with his readers; cf. R.M. Fowler, Let the Reader Understand. Reader Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991). There is a lot of theory about what 'kind of reader' is meant in narrative criticism. Most common is to talk about the 'implied reader', that is, the constructed model of an ideal reader who is responding in the most ideal way to the rhetoric strategies present in the story. The construction of this reader is an essential element in narrative approaches. But personally, I am more and more convinced that the link between this implied reader and the real readers (in plural) should receive more attention in exegetical research. This is especially the case for the Gospel of Mark, since his text is aiming at a practical engagement of the reader.

sions by the unclean spirits. Yet the Markan Jesus cannot tolerate the possibility of such ambiguity vis-à-vis his readers. While the demons use the right expression to work *against* Jesus (they are 'auf teuflische Weise orthodox'),³⁹ it appears that Jesus' authority cannot be compared to the power of Satan or any other divisive power. His authority belongs in a completely different category.

A similar explanation obtains with regard to the strong reprimand against Peter in 8:27–33. In this passage Peter uses a correct title but fails to realize both the exact import and the impact of his words. Although Jesus might be identified as Christ, he is not thereby recognized and respected in his real identity. The effect of this double layer of communication on the reading process is evident. The readers have received the information that Jesus is (Christ and) Son of God—something they have known since the title and the prologue—, but since the demons as his enemies are forbidden to proclaim this recognition (and since Peter is corrected by Jesus), the readers are made to understand that they will have to look for the right meaning of the expression (Christ and) Son of God.

It is part of the Markan literary strategy to allow for freedom and responsibility on the part of the readers so that they can discover for themselves who Jesus is. In fact they do not simply have to discover 'who he is,' but they have to find an answer to the question 'what does he mean to me?' This does not imply that the reader is left behind as a helpless person, as Mark provides ample orientation and guides his readers to find the right answer. This orientation is found in the paradoxical way in which Jesus can be seen to exercise his authority. While the victory over the demons underscores Jesus' authority and power, it shows at the same time how Jesus applies a human approach to those who are possessed by a demon, a false god, and are thereby alienated from the real 'God not of the dead, but of the living' (12:27). The demons' confession of Jesus as Son of God is part of their power play, which is similar to that of the Gentiles: 'You know that among the Gentiles those whom they recognize as their rulers lord it over them, and their great ones are tyrants over them' (10:42). For Jesus, who refuses to accept this type of thinking, true authority—in the eyes of God—is made manifest by service to all (see for instance the paradoxes in 9:35; 10:43-44). In this sense, Jesus' exorcisms have a double effect:

³⁹ Söding, "Wenn Ich mit dem Finger Gottes...", 525.

they destroy the demons and they liberate the possessed person. We are now also able to see more clearly why the demons are wrong when they confess Jesus as the Son of God: they do not recognize and they do not accept that to serve the people 'and to give his life' (10:45) is part of Jesus' mission. 'Die Dämonen sind nicht als Helfershelfer Jesu und der Missionare willkommen, sondern werden vom Meister stricte und promptu zum Schweigen gebracht—nicht weil sie ihm gefährlich werden könnten, sondern weil das Christusbekenntnis nur auf dem Weg der Kreuzesnachfolge ausgesprochen werden kann.'40

The presence of demons in Mark's Gospel only makes sense in the context of a worldview that accepts the presence of God. But this worldview frames and dominates more than the presence of demons alone. Many themes in Mark's gospel are only understandable if one accepts that God is the main actor in the story: the theme of suffering, the empty tomb, the miracles, the incomprehension of the disciples, the many references to the Old Testament. 'So long as God is not the main actor in the story, and so long as the reality of God is excluded from the world of the actual reader, the narrative is bound to disappoint.'41 The demons fail to recognize the true image of God in what Jesus is doing. This true image of God is stronger than the authority and the power of Satan because in Jesus it shows the face of a God who is concerned about every human being. Thus, although the fight between Satan and God seems to be a supernatural combat myth, it is a matter of life and death for every human person on earth. Stories about demons are stories about human beings.

Söding, "Wenn Ich mit dem Finger Gottes...", 525.
 Juel, *The Gospel of Mark*, 176. The context of the quotation is about the abrupt ending of Mark, but it can easily be extended to the gospel as a whole.

THE APPLICATION OF MAGICAL FORMULAS OF INVOCATION IN CHRISTIAN CONTEXTS

Hagit Amirav

Introduction

The subject of this article touches on important questions, such as what is magic? What is the difference between magic and religion? Can these two be distinguished? And so on. While we ought to acknowledge their complexity, it will suffice for us to state that the magical episodes in question will be dealt with here as expressions of religious sentiments, rather than as their by-products.²

This article has several objectives. The first is to demonstrate the reflection of magical formulas in a variety of Christian contexts, beginning with selected passages from the New Testament, moving on to the arena of early patristic exegesis and concluding with examples extracted from the proceedings of the church council convened at Chalcedon under Emperor Marcian (451 C.E.). The second objective is to draw some preliminary observations as to the presence of the 'magical underworld' in the lives of Christians and its repercussions on the development of Christian identities from the early beginnings to the golden era of the patristic period.

We shall see, for example, how in one passage the New Testament narrator wishes to divorce himself and his fellow Christians from

¹ An overview of major definitions of magic is found in *Miracle and Magic. A Study in the Acts of the Apostles and the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, ed. Andy M. Reimer (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002). A comprehensive study which also addresses the technical aspects of ancient magic is found in William M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri. An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.18.5, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1995), 3380–3684.

² The theory of magic as an inferior form of religious expression is advocated in the following anthropological studies: James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A History of Myth and Religion* (London: Macmilan, 1922); Bronisöaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (New York: Doubleday, 1955); John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Tradition and the Synoptic Tradition* (London: SCM Press, 1974); Howard Clark Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980).

ordinary, or pagan, magic and how, at the same time, he exhibits knowledge of contemporary pagan magic. Christian rhetoricians of the third and fourth centuries by no means embraced pagan magic. However, we shall also see how Christian rhetoric of the third and fourth centuries became more articulated as dissociation from pagan magic was achieved through the depiction of Paul's healing activities as miracles, inspired by the Holy Spirit, rather than as the practice of pagan magical rites.

THE MAGICAL FORMULA OF INVOCATION

Magical formulas of invocation exhibit unique and unmistakable features, outlined in ancient magical manuals,³ which enable us to classify a formula as such. Our anthropological understanding of the concept of magic may be broad indeed, yet the features of magic as a form of skilled art remain quite recognizable and definable. One such feature is the magical formula of invocation. As is implied by its name, this formula is uttered by a supplicant calling upon a deity or deities to force his wish, sexual or other, on the object in question. In a schematic manner, the formula may run as follows:⁴

I adjure (ἐξορκίζω) A (= name of deity sometimes followed by magical names and formulas): bring / bind, etc. B (= name of the object) whom C (= the mother's name) bore, to D (= name of commissioner) whom E (= mother's name) bore, until X (happens).

Depending on the context of its delivery and use, a magical formula of invocation may display all or part of these features. It can also include figurative or visual elements, such as dolls and drawings respectively.

³ Such magical manuals are found in *Papyri Graecae Magicae* [Die griechischen Zauberpapyri], 2 vols., Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Commentare, ed. Karl Lebrecht Preisendanz et al., (1st ed. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–31; 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–74), 4:1227–64, 3007–86; 5:96–167. Translations are found in *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. Hans Dieter Betz (revised ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). These deal specifically with exorcistic rituals which will be the focus of the discussion further on.

⁴ See, for example, Franco Maltomini and Robert W. Daniel, eds., *Supplementum Magicum* 48, 1 (Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990), 184–92, esp. 187. See also the formularies in Preisendanz et al., eds., *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 7:973–80, 16:1–75; 33:1–19; 36:134–60; 101:1–53. See also Hagit Amirav, 'Drawing and Writing: A Fourth-Century Magical Spell from Oxyrhynchus,' in *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*, ed. Shaul Shaked (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 125–40.

ACTS 19:13-20: THE TECHNICAL FEATURES OF MAGIC

A striking example of the application of magical formulas of invocation in the New Testament is found in Acts 19:13–20, where a scene of exorcism is depicted in the most charged rhetorical terms:

Then some itinerant Jewish exorcists tried to use the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits, saying 'I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul proclaims'. Seven sons of a Jewish high priest named Sceva were doing this. But the evil spirit said to them in reply, 'Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you?' Then the man with the evil spirit leaped on them, mastered them all, and so overpowered them that they fled out of the house naked and wounded. When this became known to all residents of Ephesus, both Jews and Greeks, everyone was awestruck; and the name of the Lord Jesus was praised. Also many of those who became believers confessed and disclosed their practices. A number of those who practiced magic collected their books and burnt them publicly; when the value of these books was calculated, it was found to come to fifty thousand silver coins. So the word of the Lord grew mightily and prevailed.

Taken in the context of other exorcist scenes in the New Testament,⁵ the sociological significance of this passage cannot be overestimated. It highlights the competition, but also the coexistence and reciprocal flow of ideas, between pagans, Jews, and Christians at their highest degree of intensity. Here we have Jews—and the sons of a Jewish high priest of all people—who use Christian symbols in their execution of a pagan ritual. The Jews evoke the name of Jesus in their attempts to force the evil spirit out of the victim. The magical ritual fails:⁶ the evil spirit 'identifies' the Jewish magicians as people falsely posing as Christians and, far from loosing ground, gets back at them using the victim himself as a medium.

The application here of the distinctive verb ἐξορκίζω does not leave us with any doubt as to the classification of the text in question as a magical formula, which is also found in abundance in the so-called

⁵ Luke 4:35, 8:30, 9:49; Mark 5:9, 9:38; James 2:19; Acts 16:24.

⁶ And in terms of New Testament theology, the failure of the Jewish magicians to drive away the evil spirit, is commensurate with their failure to bestow the Holy Spirit on their patient. See Leonhard Goppelt, *Theology of the New Testament* 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1981), 81.

⁷ See Roy Kotansky, 'Greek Exorcistic Amulets,' in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 242–77; Stanley E. Porter, 'Magic in the Book of Acts,' in *A Kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New*

'Christian' spells.⁸ Time and again we may be surprised at the extent of the infiltration of the magical jargon into the public discourse, as we witness the use of this particular verb, even in the proceedings of a church council, where in the first session one of the speakers, Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylaeum, addresses the delegates to the Council of Chalcedon using, according to Rusticus' Latin version, the verb adiuro:⁹

I adjure you, [most clement officials], by the holy Trinity, which is the protector of princes and which you worship and in which you were baptized and by whose invoking you are saved: order my petition to be read.

And again the same Eusebius, in a citation extracted from the proceedings of the Council of Constantinople, when discussing the matter of Eutyches:¹⁰

So I adjure you again by our Lord Jesus Christ to summon him to defend himself and then, after being proved guilty by me, refrain from his perverse teaching, since there are many who have been corrupted by him.

Testament and its Religious Environment, eds. Michael Labahn and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 107–22.

⁸ Overlooked by Betz are the Christian papyri in Preisendanz' edition, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, vol. 2, P1–P20, 189–208. For a more comprehensive collection of Christian texts see, Marvin W. Meyer, 'Greek Texts of Ritual Power from Christian Egypt,' in *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*, ed. Marvin W. Meyer and Richard Smith (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 27–104.

⁹ Rusticus' version runs as follows: per sanctam trinitatem vos adiuro, quae custos est principum, quam colitis et in qua baptizati estis et cuius invicatione salvamini, iubete preces meas relegi, clementissimi iudices. See E. Schwartz, ed., Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. Concilium universale Chalcedonense, 3.1, Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1935), 41. Also see The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon 1, Translated texts for historians 45, transl. Richard Price and Michael Gaddis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 130, n. 57. The Greek version is by far less 'magical' and more formal in nature: Τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑμῖν τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, κελεύσατε τὰς δεήσεις τὰς ἐμὰς ἀναγνωσθῆναι, καθὼς παρέστη τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῷ βασιλεῖ. See Schwartz, ed., Acta 1.1, 66.

¹⁰ The text here reads a different, though similar in meaning, compound: ἐνορκίζω οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ πάλιν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν ὥστε μεταστείλασθαι αὐτόν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐλεγχθῆναι αὐτὸν παρ' ἐμοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς διεστραμμένης αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας, ἐπειδὴ πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ βλαβέντες. See Schwartz, ed., Acta 1.1, 102. This reading is also attested in the Latin version of the proceedings, as it is reported by Rusticus: coniuro igitur vos et iterum per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, quatenus destinetur ad eum ut veniat et respondeat et postquam coniunctus a me fuerit, cesset a perversa doctrina, quia multi ab eo laesi sunt. See Schwartz, ed., Acta 3.1, 79. See also Price and Gaddis, Acts 1, 171).

Invoking the name of Jesus, whether in a purely Christian or an eclectic context, 11 is here completely and unequivocally identical to the invocation of any other deity, pagan and Judaeo-Christian alike. 12 For the magical formula to work, all parties involved must be correctly and accurately identified.¹³ In many cases, both commissioners and, in aggressive spells, the victims are identified by the names of their mothers. True, in Acts 19:13, the identification is applied to the deity invoked (that is, Jesus), rather than to the commissioner, yet this in itself may echo times in which the characterization of Jesus as a God had to be elaborated time and again. The deity invoked then is the very Jesus whom Paul follows and none other. This point is crucial, for it enables us to understand the mechanisms of failure and success in the practice of magic. The exorcism in question, we know, did not succeed. The insolent demon has evidently succeeded in making his presence and dominance physically felt through the blows he managed to inflict on the skilled and good-willing magicians. The magicians, all professed Jews, proved to be failures.

In an 'ordinary' pagan context the failure would have been automatically pinned down on a faulty execution on the part of the exorcist. In our case, however, the narrator, assuming the *persona* of the evil spirit, undermines the authority of the magicians on grounds of their identity: 'Paul I know and Jesus I know, but who are you?' The demon in our story marginalises the poor Jewish exorcists not on grounds of their skill, but on grounds of their religious belief, for the magicians, when invoking the name of Jesus, presented themselves as Christians, whereas they were not so.

¹¹ Parallel examples of calling upon Jesus are found in *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, Preisendanz et al., eds., 3:420, 1233; 4:3020; 12:192; 13:289.

¹² The uttering of divine names had an overt ritualistic quality and magicians were quite particular in their choice of names as sources of power. See John G. Gager, 'A New Translation of Ancient Greek and Demotic Papyri,' *Journal of Religion 67* (1987) 80–86, esp. 84.

¹³ Hans Bietenhard, "ὄνομα," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* [*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel and G. Friedrich], 10 vols., transl. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–76), 5:250.

ACTS 19:13-20: THE RHETORIC

If a strict observation of the prescribed ritual was a *sine qua non* for every self-respecting pagan magician, ¹⁴ our New Testament narrator strongly implies that the exorcist should also *believe* in the powers of the deities invoked—or else, he would not have rebuked the magicians for using the names of Christ and Paul. Interestingly, far from undermining the efficacy of magic as such, the narrator seems to embrace contemporary notions of magic fully and wholeheartedly. An embrace of magic can be deduced beyond any doubt in Acts 19:11–12 which actually functions as an *exordium* to the episode of the Jewish magicians and their exorcist attempts. It tells the tale of Paul as a worker of miracles, or quite simply, as a magician:

God did extraordinary miracles through Paul, so that when the handkerchiefs or aprons that had touched his skin were brought to the sick, their diseases left them, and the evil spirit came out of them.

The starting point of the narrator is that of either uncritical superstition or unreserved awe for the supernatural. It is from this starting point that the narrator embarks on the exorcist episode under discussion. The magicians of Acts 19:13–20 are scorned not for exercising their profession, but for their lack of Christian faith which blocked any chance of a successful execution of their magical rites. Magicians or miracle workers? In the eyes of our narrator, the Jewish magicians remained but simple sorcerers, far removed from the sublime world of all that is miraculous. Embracing magic in practice, while distancing oneself from pagan magic in theory is a rhetorical manipulation, well recorded in the writings of both Latin and Greek fathers. Origen claims that exorcism done by the name of Jesus Christ is no magic but a manifestation of the power of God. A similar distinction is made by

¹⁴ The abundant use of magical formulas and magical handbooks are testimony of the fact that ancient magic was perceived first and foremost as a craft.

¹⁵ The following passages are fully discussed by Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte in his article 'Paul the Miracle Worker: Development and Background of Pauline Miracle Stories,' in *Wonders Never Cease: The Purpose of Narrating Miracle Stories in the New Testament and its Religious Environment*, ed. Michael Labahn and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte (London: T & T Clark, 2006), 180–99.

¹⁶ Origen, Contra Celsum libri VIII 1.6, ed. Miroslav Marcovich, Contra Celsum Libri VIII, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 10.

Justin Martyr,¹⁷ and by Irenaeus.¹⁸ Furthermore, Eusebius of Caesarea quotes Cornelius, a third-century bishop of Rome, who counted exorcists amongst the church officials.¹⁹ Similar observations were made by Cyprian, Tertullian, and Augustine.²⁰

The New Testament narrator's uncritical approach to magic was indeed a determining factor in his choice of rhetorical technique. The magicians are Jews, they are numerous, they formed together a mystical group of seven, they are itinerant and hence, skilled magicians, they are the sons of a Jewish high priest and therefore belonged to the most upper echelons of Jewish society, yet all this and more was not sufficient for them to secure a successful result. We also see how the Scriptural elementary demand of not bearing the name of God in vain, finds an expression in the most popular contexts. If the first part of the episode is a story of the Jewish magicians' failure, the second part is a story of a Christian triumph, embodied in the very personae of Christ and Paul. How did this change occur? How could a triumph of the devil be convincingly presented as a triumph of Christ and his messenger, Paul? The devil here, as is the case in many Christian congregations to this day, has a full and unquestionable presence: he never ceases to set challenges to mankind.

As in the book of Job, here too, the devil assumes the role of a theatrical persona, where he teases people, tests them and sneers at their belief in divine Providence. Yet, as mentioned before, the rhetoric of the narrator is triumphal rather than apologetic. Somehow, the actions of the insolent demon have brought about a victory, not for himself, but for Christ, his chief adversary. But how? Quite paradoxically, the demon's overpowering of the Jewish magicians also entailed his

¹⁷ Justinus Martyr, *Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Triphone* 30.23; 85.2, ed. Miroslav Marcovich, *Dialogue with Trypho*, Patristische Texte und Studien 47 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1997), 117–18, 216–17; Justinus Martyr, *Iustini Martyris Apologia minor pro Christianis* 6.4–6, ed. Miroslav Marcovich, *Apologies*, Patristische Texte und Studien 38 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), 146.

¹⁸ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* II 32.4, ed. Norbert Brox, *Gegen die Häresien*, Fontes Christiani 8/2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 280.

Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica VI 43.11, in Eusebius Werke. Die Kirchengeschichte, 3 vols., ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–1909), 1:618.
 Tertullian, Apologeticum 23, 27, 32, 37.9, ed. Carl Becker, Tertullians Apologe-

²⁰ Tertullian, Apologeticum 23, 27, 32, 37.9, ed. Carl Becker, Tertullians Apologeticum: Werden und Leistung (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1961), 142–43, 158–160, 168; Cyprian, Ad Demetrianum 15, ed. Manlio Simonetti and Claudio Moreschini, Sancti Cypriani episcopi Opera, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 3A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 43–44; Augustine, De civitate Dei II 22.8, 2 vols. ed. Patrick Gerard Walsh, Classical texts 20 (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 2005), 1:154.

recognition of Christ and Paul—a recognition which, coming from the mouth of the devil himself, caused quite a turmoil amongst the pagan and Jewish communities of Ephesus.

The reaction of the local Ephesian communities to the failed magical ritual is another block in the rhetorical puzzle. What ensued next was an alleged mass conversion of both pagans and Jews, followed by a public burning of books, most certainly magical manuals. Does this mean that the Ephesian community underwent a process of total rationalization, rejecting magic altogether? Some scholars understand this passage in this way,²¹ yet by doing so they miss out not only on the subtleties of the practice of ancient magic, but also on the rhetoric of this New Testament narrative in which the efficacy of magic is taken for granted,²² provided it is executed by Christian magicians who use Christ and his disciples as sources of power. True, the narrator plainly attributes the great triumph of Christianity to those Christians, mostly recent converts from Judaism and Paganism, who have ceremoniously burnt their books. Yet this by no means seems to signify a total divorce from the world of magic, only from the world of pagan magic and—if one were to acknowledge a conscious 'Christian', or 'spiritual' perspective—its 'nonsensical' and 'superstitious' manuals.²³

PATRISTIC EXEGESIS ON ACTS 19:13-20

In the context of assessing Christian appropriation of popular magical notions, an examination of patristic exegesis on Acts 19:13-20 is

²¹ Lietaert Peerbolte, 'Paul the Miracle Worker,' 185. Lietaert Peerbolte argues here that the author(s) of Acts 'clearly takes a stand against the practice of magic, and restricts the power of Jesus to the envoys of Jesus,' whereas we have seen that the name of Paul is used here in a distinctive magical context, and for specific technical purposes.

²² On the notions of the presence and efficacy of demons, see Dale B. Martin, *Inventing Superstition: From the Hippocratics to the Christians* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 243–44.

²³ Here I take the verbal practice of magic to be closely associated with prayer. On the appropriation of pagan demonology by Christians and the evolution of Christian prayer see B. Bitton-Ashkelony, 'Demons and Prayers: Spiritual Exercises in the Monastic Community of Gaza in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 57, 2 (2003) 200–221. Bitton-Ashkelony further discusses the evolution of Christian prayer as a spiritual means of uplifting one's soul towards the divine through continuous battle against demons. By contract, a Christian would judge the pagan function of prayer (including magical rites), being a means of making practical requests etc., to be mechanical and 'non-spiritual'.

inevitable. The evidence of the patristic corpus is illuminating, more in terms of the relative absence of exegesis on the passage in question, esp. on lines 13–17, than in terms of its abundance. Of the Cappadocians, Basil alone stands out in terms of his interest in the passage in question.²⁴ On the other hand, the moral exegetes of the Antiochene school, who expounded every iota of the Gospels, fell silent. A slightly better documentation is found in the works of the Palestinian-Alexandrian exegetes, namely Origen and Eusebius of Caesarea whose affinity to the Alexandrian allegorical school, exemplified by Didymus, could be taken as a partial explanation for their inclination to the supernatural.²⁵

A few examples of the manipulative rhetoric applied in the exegesis of Acts 19 are as follows. In his commentary on Matthew, for example, Origen presents magic as effective, provided that it is executed in a Christian context. He gives a catalogue of Jewish figures who performed magic in the name of Christ despite their being ἀνάξιοι, unworthy (and here I would understand unworthy because of their lack of belief). In his Demonstratio evangelica, Eusebius of Caesarea, while completely ignoring the exorcist episode, effortlessly attributes the burning of the books by the people of foreign nations (ἔθνα) to the first disciples of Jesus who made them change their ways and give up their treachery (γοητεία). In an exposition distinctly bent on the figure of Paul, Cyril of Jerusalem takes pains to distinguish Pauline miracles from 'common' magic, or π ερίεργα, by pointing to the Holy Spirit as

²⁴ Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae morales* 1.3, PG 31:701; Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon parvum* 21.6, ed. Klaus Zelzer, *Basilii regula a Rufino latine versa*, CSEL 86 (Vienna: VÖAW, 1986), 70; Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon magnum* 288, PG 31:1285.

²⁵ See Origen, Fragmenta e catenis in Matthaeum 150, ed. Erich Klostermann and Ernst Benz, Origenes Werke 2. Commentarius in Matthaeum 3/1, GCS 41/1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1941), 75; Eusebius of Caesarea, Demonstratio Evangelica III 6.16; III 6.19, ed. Ivar August Heikel, Eusebius Werke, GCS 23 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), 134–35; Eusebius of Caesarea, Theophania, ed. Hugo Gressmann, Die Theophanie: die griechischen Bruchstücke und Übersetzung der syrischen Überlieferungen, GCS 11 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1904), 224. Also see Cyril of Jerusalem, Catecheses ad illuminandos 17.30, ed. Wilhelm Karl Reischl and Joseph Rupp, S. Patris nostri Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera (München: Lentner 1848–60; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), 288. Also compare with Didymus of Alexandria, Fragmenta e catenis in acta apostolorum, in Catenae graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum 3, ed. J.A. Cramer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1844), 317–20; Didymus of Alexandria, Fragmenta e catenis in Epistulam primam ad Corinthios, in Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche, ed. Karl Staab, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933), 12.

their unique source of power.²⁶ Like many others, ignoring the exorcist episode in Acts, Cyril presents the scene of the burning of the books as the climax of Paul's healing activities.

As opposed to the Alexandrian-Palestinian exegetes, Didymus, a pure Alexandrian, does not hesitate to tackle the more colourful *persona* of the evil spirit, arguing that as much as it is possible for one to acknowledge God with words, while fighting Him with deeds, so it is possible for one, like the demon in Acts, to acknowledge Jesus, while not really meaning it.²⁷ For example, Basil of Caesarea, one of the Cappadocians, again referring only to Acts 19:19–20, expounds the said passage in relation to the theme of regret. In his moral treatise, in which Paul takes a centre stage, he shows how the *performers of follies* (περίεργα) surrendered their books to the fire.²⁸ In his *Asceticon*, a collection of questions and answers on the monastic life, Basil exhibits a rather free, yet moralising interpretation, where he comes back to the theme of confession and regret, while implying that the mass conversion and baptism of the heathens described in Acts was carried out by the Apostles themselves $(\tau \circ \hat{i} \circ \hat{\alpha} \pi \circ \tau \circ \hat{i} \wedge i)$.

CONCLUSION: MAGIC AND THE EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

The New Testament narrative manages to convey the paradoxes and impossibilities of the age, in which religious communities adopted universal notions, but at the same time, also sought to distance themselves from these notions. We may observe this tension also in the microcosm of our narrator, who essentially displays a belief in the supernatural in mocking the Jewish magicians for their professional incompetence, and in celebrating the triumph of Christianity, when the demon himself acknowledged Jesus and Paul and when magical manuals were put to the fire. A clearer picture begins to emerge: Judeo-Christians of the early, formative, period of Christianity, namely those who played a role in Acts 19:13–20, embraced magic and were familiar with its technicalities. The religious atmosphere in the early period was eclectic and interreligious and social contacts were largely practical and result-

²⁶ See note 25 above.

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ See note 24 above.

²⁹ Ibid

oriented.³⁰ Clear and articulated association of magical practices with paganism and overt attempts to undermine exposure of Christians to magic mark a new stage in the development of 'intellectual Christianity', when, from the fourth century onwards, a sense of embarrassment crept into the psyche of the patristic Fathers, the elaborators of Christian dogma and ideology, whose very mission was, in fact, to articulate the differences between the Christian and the non-Christian world.

In short, on the micro level, the episode in question can be taken as a paradigm of the coexistence of multiple and sometimes contradicting rhetoric in a single narrative. The New Testament narrator, while essentially exhibiting a non-critical approach to magic and while embracing it as part and parcel of his world, also takes care to divorce himself and the community he represents from the kind of magic he and his fellow Christians would brand as 'pagan', that is non-spiritual, evil-minded, and superstitious. On the macro level, the episode in question can be taken as a paradigm of the evolution of Christian identity through the prism of magic. To be sure, later exegetes, and especially the Antiochenes, found the episode increasingly harder to digest and, while oppressing the overt appropriation of pagan rituals by first-century Christians, chose, if at all, to highlight only the sublime miracle-making of Paul and the glorified victory of Christianity over all other religions, as it came to be reflected in the alleged mass conversion of Jews and the burning of magical books. Concluding with a paraphrase on the title of a recent collection of articles on magic in the New Testament: rather than advocating no magic, our New Testament narrator, while displaying multiple and sometimes contradicting rhetoric, wishes to point his readers to the kind of magic they should follow.31

³⁰ As is reflected in the position of early exegetes, for example, Ps.-Clemens Romanus, *Recognitiones* 11.38.9, ed. Bernhard Rehm, *Die Pseudoklementinen*, GCS 51 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1965), 328.

³¹ The work leading to this publication has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme.

EXORCISM: TACKLING THE DEVIL BY WORD OF MOUTH

A.A.R. Bastiaensen

EXORCISM IN EPHESUS

The Acts of the Apostles provides copious information on the experiences of the developing Christian community. At first, Peter is the central figure, but before long it is the newcomer Paul who captures our attention by his persisting efforts to make the person and doctrine of Jesus Christ known beyond the borders of their land of origin. As follower and messenger of Jesus Christ he was endowed, as Peter was, with special powers, particularly the power to expel Satan and his devils. During his two-year stay in Ephesus, 'God worked more than the usual miracles by the hand of Paul, so that even handkerchiefs and aprons were carried from his body to the sick, and the diseases left them and the evil spirits went out. But certain of the itinerant Jews, exorcists, also tried to invoke the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits in them, saying: "I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul preaches". And a certain Sceva, a Jewish high-priest, had seven sons who were doing this. But the evil spirit answered and said to them, "Jesus I acknowledge, and Paul I know, but who are you?" And the man in whom the evil spirit was sprang at them, mastered them all and so overpowered them that they fled out of the house battered and bruised.'1

This remarkable tableau is instructive. We learn that Paul himself was an exorcist, expelling demons by profession. He practised his activities of spiritual healing at the command of Jesus Christ and followed in the tracks of Him who liberated people from the rule of the Evil One and his assistants, the demons.² He also sent forth his disciples and followers with the order of carrying out the same task.³ As we read in Acts, the apostles performed many signs and wonders, healing

¹ Acts 19:11-16.

² See for instance Matt. 4:23-24, Mark 1:32-34; Luke 7:21; 8:2.

³ Luke 10:17; Mark 16:17.

the sick and the victims of unclean spirits.⁴ Paul, also an apostle, did the same in Ephesus. He was an exorcist, because he was a follower and disciple of Jesus Christ.

But it appears that there were other exorcists in town, itinerant Jewish exorcists, using the formula 'I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul preaches'; they wanted to imitate that master exorcist. But, because their activity was only imitation, mimicry, their efforts met with no success at all. It is remarkable nonetheless to find that they were a kind of semi-professionals, wandering about with exorcism as their commodity.

INNUMEROUS EXORCISTS

The Ephesian exorcists were Jews. Jewish exorcism is also mentioned by Irenaeus at the end of the second century CE: 'All things are subject to the Name of Our Lord;... that's why the Jews up to the present day expel the demons by holding out to them with that Name.'5 The second century apologist Justin Martyr refers to the practices of pagan exorcists and challenges them by mentioning the successful Christian practice.6 In Contra Celsum Origen too presupposes the existence of pagan exorcism.⁷ But both Justin and Origen put pagan and Christian practice in opposition—it appears that this approach was not at all unusual in Christian circles. Tertullian mentions Christians, who, standing in a pagan court, tell evil spirits to leave their victims.8 In De idololatria a Christian incense-seller is said to liberate his personnel (alumni) from demons: the term is exorcizare. A few decades later Novatian blames Christian exorcists for attending pagan spectacles.¹⁰ In heretical and schismatic circles exorcism was no less popular. In De praescriptione haereticorum Tertullian expresses his distaste for heretical women-exorcists, who perhaps did not shrink from baptis-

⁴ Acts 5:12-16.

⁵ Irenaeus, Adversus haereses II 6.2: Domini nostri nomini subiecta sunt omnia;... et propter hoc Iudaei usque nunc hac ipsa adfatione daemonas effugant. Cf. Michael Labahn and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte, eds., A Kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New Testament and its Religious Environment (London: T & T Clark, 2007).

⁶ Justinus Martyr, Apologia secunda 6.6.

⁷ Origenes, Contra Celsum VII 4.

⁸ Tertullianus, Apologeticum 23.4.

⁹ Tertullianus, De idolatria 11.7.

¹⁰ Novatianus, De spectaculis 4.3.

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ing too.¹¹ At a North-African council one of Cyprian's colleagues states that the heretics in their misbehaviour have come to the point of having their possessed ones exorcised by other possessed ones: *exorcizat daemoniacus*.¹² In the fourth century Optatus of Milevis reproaches the Donatist schismatics: 'you kill the bishop, and then, the sheperd killed, the wolves have free play; you have exorcized the faithful'.¹³ All but a hundred years later Cassian in one of his *Collationes* informs us of misbehaving monks who play the exorcist with much ado.¹⁴ It appears that everywhere, in- and outside the *Catholica*, exorcism was a favourite and rewarding pastime. The resistance it provoked was strikingly put into words in a juridical formula of late-Roman legislation: '... but not if the person in question has practised sorcery, if he has been imprecating, if he, to use that vulgar charlatans' term, has exorcized.'¹⁵

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE EVIL ONE AND HIS SATELLITES

The confrontation with the powers of evil was a struggle, and the expression of that struggle in early Christian literature agrees with data from the gospels. A spectacular passage comes from the Gospel of Mark which presents a sharp exchange between Jesus and an unclean spirit:

A man possessed by an unclean spirit...cried out: 'What have we to do with you, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are, the Holy One of God'. And Jesus rebuked him, saying: 'Hold your peace, and get out of the man'. And the unclean spirit, convulsing him and crying out with a loud voice, went out of him.¹⁶

¹¹ Tertullianus, De praescriptione haereticorum 41.5.

¹² Sententiae episcoporum 1.

¹³ Optatus of Milevis, Contra Parmenianum Donatistam II 21: pastore occiso lupi grassantur; exorcizastis fideles.

¹⁴ Cassianus, Collationes XV 7.4.

¹⁵ Digesta L 1.3: non tamen si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si, ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar, exorcizavit.

¹⁶ Mark 1:23–26: Homo in spiritu inmundo...exclamavit dicens: Quid nobis et tibi, Iesu Nazarene? Venisti perdere nos? Scio qui sis, Sanctus Dei. Et comminatus est ei Iesus, dicens: Obmutesce, et exi de homine. Et discerpens eum spiritus inmundus, et exclamans voce magna exiit ab eo.

Similar scenes appear also in the gospels of Mark and Matthew,¹⁷ and the term *increpare*, 'to snarl at', 'to scold', is used in Matt. 17:18 and Luke 4:41 and 9:42. It could be a fierce struggle, and according to later Christian texts even a violent one. The Christian Octavius in Minucius Felix' *Octavius* tells his pagan interlocutor:

Most of you know that the demons explicitly confess all this about themselves, whenever they are driven out by us from the bodies of the possessed ones by the projectiles of words and the bullets of prayer.¹⁸

Of a similar nature is Cyprian's remark in his Epistula 69:

It happens also today that by exorcists through human words and divine power the devil is flogged and burnt and tormented.¹⁹

'To bridle' (compescere) and 'to flog' (verberare) are characteristic terms used by Ambrosiaster in his Epistula ad Ephesios:

The exorcists in the Church bridle and flog the trouble-makers.²⁰

Hilary is short of terms to describe the horrible fate of the false gods, that is, the demons:

Through the words of the faithful they are tormented, torn to pieces, burnt,... bridled, punished, driven out; those beings invisible and incomprehensible for us are bridled, punished, driven out on command.²¹

Augustine in his *Enarrationes in psalmos*, commenting on the words *transivimus per ignem et aquam*, states that a man on his way to become a Christian has to step through fire and water. In a plastic, almost comical commentary he says:

In the liturgical rites, in catechetical instruction and in exorcism first fire is used. For why do unclean spirits often cry "I'm burning", if that isn't

¹⁷ Mark 9:25 and Matt. 8:29.

¹⁸ Minucius Felix, Octavius 27.5: Haec omnia sciunt pleraque pars vestrum ipsos daemonas de semetipsis confiteri, quotiens a nobis tormentis verborum et orationis incendiis de corporibus exiguntur.

¹⁹ Cyprianus, Epistula 69.15.2: Quod hodie etiam geritur, ut per exorcistas voce humana et potestate divina flagelletur et uratur et torqueatur diabolus.

²⁰ Ambrosiaster, Epistula ad Ephesios 4.12: Exorcistae...in ecclesia...compescunt et verberant inquietos.

²¹ Hilarius of Poitiers, Tractatus super psalmos 64.10: Credentium verbis torquentur, laniantur, uruntur,... continentur, puniuntur, abiguntur, et invisibiles nobis atque incomprehensibiles naturae verbo continentur, puniuntur, abiguntur.

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fire? And after the fire of exorcism (the candidate) is baptised: "from fire to water, from water to eternal refreshment." ²²

Pope Leo the Great finally uses the term *imperia* 'commands'—commands which, however, have no effect on the possessed ones, because they are not accompanied by the prescribed fasting and praying:

...that...the evil spirits, who by no commands of exorcists can be driven out from the possessed bodies, are expelled only by fasting and praying, as the Lord says: 'this kind of demon can be cast out in no way except by fasting and praying'.²³

Before him, Augustine had given an outstanding definition of exorcism in *De beata vita*:

... the unclean spirit invades the soul from the outside and confuses the senses and creates a certain frenzy in people; those who provide for casting him out are said to lay on hands or to exorcize, i.e., to drive him out per divina eum adiurando, by adjuring him by God and His world.²⁴

The attack on the unclean spirit is an expulsion, because he is adjured in the name of God and cannot but leave the possessed person.

Just once or twice in the sources I have consulted, the exorcist's struggle was not only an oral, but a corporeal one as well.²⁵ I refer

²² Augustinus, Enarrationes in psalmos 65.17: Et in sacramentis et in catechizando et exorcizando adhibetur prius ignis. Nam unde plerumque inmundi spiritus clamant 'Ardeo', si ignis ille non est? Post ignem autem exorcismi venitur ad baptismum, ut ab igne ad aquam, ab aqua ad refrigerium. See also the article 'Exorcismus' by Martin Klöckener in Augustinus-Lexikon, ed. C. Mayer et al. (Basel: Schwabe AG, 1996–2002), vol. 2, 1188–1193.

²³ Leo Magnus, Sermo 87[= 85].2: ...ut...spiritus daemonum, qui ab obsessis corporibus nullis exorcizantium fugantur imperiis, sola ieiuniorum et orationum virtute pellantur, dicente Domino: hoc genus daemoniorum non eicitur nisi in ieiunio et oratione. Cf. Matt. 17:20 and Mark 9:28.

²⁴ Augustinus, De beata vita 3.17: ...spiritus inmundus...extrinsecus invadit animam sensusque conturbat et quemdam hominibus infert furorem; cui excludendo qui praesunt, manum imponere vel exorcizare dicuntur, hoc est per divina eum adiurando expellere.

²⁵ Cf. also R. Kaczynski, 'Der Exorzismus,' in *Gottesdienst der Kirche. Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft* 8, Sakramentliche Feiern II, ed. H.B. Meyer et.al. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1984), 275–291, see esp. the list on 278; R. Kaczynski, 'Der Exorzismus,' in *Gottesdienst der Kirche. Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft* 7/2, Sakramentliche Feiern I/2, ed. H.B. Meyer et al. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1992), 243–273, see the list on 245; H. Leclercq, 'Exorcisme, Exorciste,' in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* VI, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1922), 964–978; J. Daniélou, 'Exorcisme,' in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* IV/2, ed. M. Viller et al. (Paris: Beauchesne 1961), col. 1995–2004.

to the passage from Acts quoted above about the events in Ephesus. While the exorcists aping Paul were fighting with the evil spirit, they were attacked by the possessed one and came out battered and bruised. But in the many early Christian texts I consulted, there was no mention of clear-cut hand-to-hand fight. The duel was rather a contest in words; the exorcist gave a command and the evil spirit felt compelled to obey and to leave his victim in peace.

It is difficult for us to establish how the faithful of the first centuries of Christianity managed to integrate into their daily life the struggle with the Evil One. Manifold were the dangers that menaced human life and understandable the quest for the root of all evil. The gospels pointed to the devil and the demons as the great enemies of God and man, the framers of sickness, sin and death. For a Christian it was a matter of course that he would oppose those enemies in his moral conduct and in the word-to-word fight of exorcism. More than fear of the Evil One, it was readiness to fight him that characterized speech and behaviour. The sincere Christian could not but repudiate Satan, his satellites and his works. And this meant at the same time that the Christian was confident he would have his share in the victory of Jesus Christ. There were of course many thoughtless or guileless people, who did not busy themselves with such ideas. To be sure, they hardly knew about the notion of evil, but they wanted to get rid of evil nevertheless.

THE OFFICE OF EXORCIST

Driving out the devil and his satellites, the evil spirits, in principle was everybody's business. But the authorities of the Church tried from the beginning to integrate as a regular ecclesiastical office the order of driving out devils that Jesus Christ gave his disciples. Information from the third century is at our disposal. Of a letter of Cyprian's correspondence, *Epistula* 23, only the opening line remains:

Lucianus has written the letter in the presence of two clerics: an exorcist and a lector.²⁶

It appears that the two men both exercised a liturgical function. Very accurate information is given in a letter of Cyprian's colleague, pope Cornelius. In the first half of the fourth century, the church historian

²⁶ Cyprianus, Epistula 23: Praesente de clero et exorcista et lectore Lucianus scripsit.

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Eusebius of Caesarea quoted from that letter sent to the churches in the East, of which he, Eusebius, probably had a Greek exemplar.²⁷ Cornelius tells that the church of Rome counted one bishop, 46 priests, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, 42 acolytes and 52 exorcists, readers and door-keepers. It appears that the office of exorcist belonged to the minor orders, as it ranked with the offices of reader and door-keeper. The fourth-century anonymous theologian, called Ambrosiaster because his oeuvre has partially been transmitted under the name of Ambrose, writes in the same way:

The major order also includes the minor one, for a priest fulfils also the duties of a deacon, an exorcist and a reader.²⁸

His contemporary Egeria in her detailed description of the liturgical practice in Jerusalem, writes:

They have here the custom that those who are preparing for baptism during the forty days of the Lenten fast are exorcized by the clerics first thing in the morning.²⁹

Exorcism was the task of special officers, the exorcists of the church of Jerusalem.

PERSONAL AND IMPERSONAL EXORCISM

In the foregoing it was man who was liberated from of the inhabitation of devil or demons. But Origen remarks that exorcism was not only practiced on man in his milieu, but that animals too could be possessed and had to be freed from their demons.³⁰ The Gospel of Mark indeed tells the story of a flock of unclean spirits, called Legion, who, when being exorcized by Jesus, asked Him to be sent into a herd of swine, as a result of which the swine rushed down into the sea and drowned.³¹

²⁷ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica* VI 43.11.

²⁸ Ambrosiaster, Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti 101.4: Maior...ordo intra se et apud se habet et minorem; presbyter enim et diaconi agit officium et exorcistae et lectoris.

²⁹ Egeria, Itinerarium Egeriae 46.1: Consuetudo est...hic talis, ut qui accedunt ad baptismum per ipsos dies quadraginta, quibus ieiunatur, primum mature a clericis experimentur.

³⁰ Origen, Contra Celsum VI 67.

³¹ Mark 5:1-19.

In line with this is perhaps the early Christian conviction that something not unlike demoniacal possession inhabited things, material objects. This was first of all the case with substances required for liturgical service: water, salt, olive oil. They had to be purified before they could contribute to the liberation of human beings. Among Cyprian's correspondence is a letter from a council of bishops of his province, addressing the colleagues in Numidia on the question of rebaptism of repenting sinners. The letter raises the issue of post-baptismal unction, forerunner of the sacrament of confirmation:

Whoever has been baptized must also be anointed, so that by receiving the chrism he can be God's anointed one and have the grace of Christ in him. For that reason the sacred material (*eucharistia*) with which the baptized are anointed, is oil sanctified on the altar. But he who had neither altar nor church could not sanctify God's creature, oil (*olei creatura*). That is why no spiritual unction is possible among heretics, because the sanctification and consecration of oil is definitely impossible in their midst.³²

The bishops state that a person who does not belong to the true church cannot prepare oil for the post-baptismal unction. The creature oil itself has to be loosened from its bad ties: it has to be converted and consecrated so as to be ready for its liturgical function of saving man. In this way, the substance 'oil' can be *creatura olei*, the unspoiled product of God's hand.

A century later Ambrose uses the equivalent *creatura aquae*, designating the baptismal water that has to be purified before it is poured out on the candidate:

...because in the traditional form of baptism first the baptismal water, *fons*, is sanctified and then the candidate descends into it. As soon as the bishop has come into the baptistery he pronounces an appropriate exorcism on the *creatura aquae* and has it followed by a prayer of invocation that the water may be sanctified and the eternal Trinity may be present.³³

³² Cyprianus, Epistula 70.2.1: Vngi quoque necesse est eum qui baptizatus est, ut accepto chrismate id est unctione esse unctus Dei et habere in se gratiam Christi possit. Porro autem eucharistia est, unde baptizati unguntur, oleum in altari sanctificatum. Sanctificare autem non potuit olei creaturam qui nec altare habuit nec ecclesiam. Vnde nec unctio spiritalis apud haereticos potest esse, quando constet oleum sanctificari et eucharistiam fieri apud illos omnino non posse.

³³ Ambrose, De sacramentis I 18:...cum forma baptismatis et usus hoc habeat ut ante fons consecretur et tunc descendat qui baptizandus est. Nam ubi primum ingre-

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Shortly afterwards Sulpicius Severus has a picturesque story about Martin of Tours. A young girl born with aphasia is taken by her father to Martin:

Martin prostrates himself and prays. Next, with an appropriate special prayer he blesses a small quantity of oil. Then he poured that sanctified liquid into the mouth of the girl, while holding her tongue with his fingers. And the result of that particular action did not let down the saint. He asks her her father's name; presently she answered. The father emits a shout of joy.³⁴

EXORCISM IN THE CURRICULUM OF CONVERSION

The early Church, as we have seen, held the function of exorcist to be a regular ecclesiastical office. The exercise of it was part of the process of conversion. The newcomer, who crossed from the reign of evil to the reign of virtue, had to be loosened from the ties with his bad past: exorcism was needed to obtain a total surrender to God and Jesus Christ. Egeria writes that the catechumens of Jerusalem preparing for baptism in the vigil of Easter were exorcized daily.³⁵ Similarly, Augustine states that a man on his way to become a Christian has to step through fire and water. There was no baptism without a preceding exorcism.³⁶

But this position led to conflict in the Pelagian dispute. The question was about the necessity of baptism and preceding exorcism for newborn babies. The Pelagians Caelestius and Julian of Eclanum held the view that those children were in the same situation as Adam before the fall and therefore needed no purification from sin. Augustine, in contrast, held that everyone was born under the burden of sin and therefore needed redemption, purification by baptism and preceding exorcism. Proof came from the tradition of the Church, which had always practised infant baptism. I quote from some of his anti-Pelagian writings. In *Epistula* 194 he appeals to the old tradition '...that

ditur sacerdos, exorcismum facit secundum creaturam aquae, invocationem postea et precem defert ut sanctificetur fons et adsit praesentia Trinitatis.

³⁴ Sulpicius Severus, Dialogus 2[3].2: (Martinus) in orationem prosternitur. Dein pusillum olei cum exorcismi praefatione benedicit, atque ita in os puellae sanctificatum liquorem, cum et linguam illius digitis teneret, infudit. Nec fefellit sanctum virtutis eventus. Patris nomen interrogat: mox illa respondit. Proclamat pater cum gaudio.

³⁵ Egeria, *Itinerarium* 46.1.

³⁶ Augustinus, Enarrationes in psalmos 65.17. Cf. n. 22.

newborn children, when they are exorcised and answer through the voice of those who carry them (i.e., the godparents, AB) that they renounce (the devil, AB), are liberated from the domination of the devil.'³⁷ In *De peccato originali* he cites the traditional rite of exorcism for babies who are presented at the font by their godparents:

...first the evil power in them is exorcized and blown out, and they answer through the voice of those who carry them that they renounce.³⁸

In *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* he writes:

...the diabolical power is driven out in the children, and they renounce the devil through the heart and the voice of their godparents, because they are unable to do so through their own heart and voice.³⁹

In Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum II 181 we read:

Exorcism and blowing out are a grave insult of God if the prince of the world who is cast out is not then exorcized and blown out, that the Holy Spirit may have his dwelling there (i.e., in the child, AB).⁴⁰

A VARIETY OF TERMS

The phenomenon of exorcism had its own rich vocabulary. Threatening the evil spirit or snarling at him was called *increpare* or *comminari*. It is interesting to note that Isidore of Seville defines exorcism as *sermo increpationis*. Some terms refer to the effect of the act: the devil, demon, or evil spirit is routed, he is banished to the desert, he flees: *fugare*, *effugare*, *fugare in deserta loca*, *fugere*. Or the action itself is accentuated, and the idea is 'to eliminate by force', 'to throw out': *eicere*, *exigere*, *excludere*, *exturbare*, *expellere*, *depellere* or, from the perspective of the evil spirit, 'to quit', 'to decamp': *exire*, *recedere*,

³⁷ Augustinus, Epistula 194.10.43: ...infantes, et cum exorcizantur et cum ei se per eos a quibus gestantur renuntiare respondent, a diaboli dominatione liberari.

³⁸ Augustinus, De (gratia Christi et de) peccato originali 40.45: ...prius exorcizatur in eis et exsufflatur potestas contraria: cui etiam verbis eorum a quibus portantur, se renuntiare respondent.

³⁹ Augustinus, De nuptiis et concupiscentia I 20.22: ... potestas diabolica exorcizatur in parvulis, eique renuntiant, quia per sua non possunt, per corda et ora gestantium.

⁴⁰ Augustinus, Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum II 181: alioquin cum magna iniuria dei...exorcizatur et exsufflatur, si non ibi ille exorcizatur et exsufflatur princeps mundi qui eicitur foras, ut sit illic habitatio Spiritus sancti.

⁴¹ Isidorus of Sevilla, Etymologiae VI 19.55; De ecclesiasticis officiis II 21.2.

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abscedere, absistere. There is also a series of terms that render the infliction of pain or some other hardship: laniare 'to lacerate', urere 'to set on fire', molere 'to grind', verberare and flagellare 'to flog', torquere 'to torture', punire 'to punish'.

A very particular case is that of exsufflare. In De idolatria Tertullian blames a Christian for selling incense for pagan worship: instead, he should 'spit on it' and 'blow on it with contempt' (despuere and exsufflare).42 In the Old Testament text of Malachi we find the same exsufflare in the sense of 'sniffing at', and 'scorning' (namely, second rate sacrifices).⁴³ But the purist Sulpicius Severus calls exsufflare a verbum parum latinum, 'hardly Latin'.44 Augustine on the other hand had no problem with it at all. In his defence of infant baptism in Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum,45 he uses exorcizare and exsufflare as synonyms: 'the prince of the world has to be exorcized and blown out, that the Holy Spirit may have his dwelling (in the child).' This connects with John 20:22. In an encounter with the apostles after his resurrection, '(Jesus) breathed on them and said: Receive the Holy Spirit' (insufflavit et dixit eis: Accipite Spiritum sanctum.) This insufflare of the Holy Spirit entails the exsufflare of the evil spirit(s). On the candidate for baptism exorcism is performed: the Holy Spirit is blown into him, and the evil spirit is blown out of him. The term is used afterwards in the regulations for the sacramental liturgy. In the Sacramentarium Gelasianum 1559-1560 first the salt is exorcized, then the officiating cleric must pour the salt into the water and 'blow the evil spirit (out of the water; exsufflare)'.46

LITURGICAL EXORCISMS

The *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, probably an office-book from the seventh century for the non-papal urban churches in Rome, has preserved for us the texts used for the preparation and administration of baptism.

⁴² Tertullianus, De idololatria 11.7.

⁴³ Malachi 1:13 with commentary by Jerome (*Commentarii in prophetas minores: in Malachiam*).

⁴⁴ Sulpicius Severus, Dialogus 2[3].8.

⁴⁵ Augustinus, *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum* II 181; text quoted above, see n. 40.

⁴⁶ Sacramentarium Gelasianum 1559-1560.

The first one is the exorcism of the salt that has to be put into the mouth of the candidate. The salt is told:

I exorcize you, creature salt, in the name of God, the Almighty Father and in the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ and in the power of the Holy Spirit. I exorcize you by the living God and the true God, who created you for the protection of mankind and ordered you to be consecrated by his servants for the people coming to the faith. Therefore we ask you, God, Our Lord, that this creature salt may become in the name of the Trinity a salutary spiritual help for the chasing of the enemy.⁴⁷

We recognize the particulars described above, especially the expression *creatura salis* 'God's creature salt', that has to be wrested from the hands of its usurper, the devil, and given back to its true owner.

The prayers 291–298 are exorcism formulas to be pronounced upon the *electi* during the week before their baptism. I quote two short introductions for exorcism, 296 and 297, one for men, one for women. For men:

I exorcize you, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, that you leave and move away from these servants of God. For He himself commands you, accursed one, damned one, who walked with his feet on the sea and stretched forth his hand to Peter when he was sinking.⁴⁸

For women:

I exorcize you, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, that you leave and move away from these handmaidens of God. For He himself commands you, accursed one, damned one, who opened the eyes of the man born blind and raised Lazarus on the fourth day from his tomb.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Sacramentarium Gelasianum 1559–1560: Exorcizo te, creatura salis, in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis et in caritate Domini nostri Iesu Christi et in virtute Spiritus Sancti. Exorcizo te per Deum vivum et per deum verum, quae (qui?) te ad tutelam humani generis procreavit, et populo veniente (venienti?) ad credulitatem per servos suos consecrare praecepit. Proinde rogamus te, Domine Deus noster, ut haec creatura salis in nomine Trinitatis efficiatur salutare sacramentum ad effugandum inimicum.

⁴⁸ Sacramentarium Gelasianum, oratio 296: Exorcizo te, inmunde spiritus, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ut exeas et recedas ab his famulis Dei. Ipse enim tibi imperat, maledicte, damnate, qui pedibus super mare ambulavit et Petro mergenti dexteram porrexit.

⁴⁹ Sacramentarium Gelasianum 297: Exorcizo te, inmunde spiritus, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ut exeas et recedas ab his famulabus Dei. Ipse enim tibi imperat, maledicte, damnate, qui ceco nato oculos aperuit et quatriduanum Lazarum de monumento suscitavit.

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The two formulas stress the saving and healing action of Him who with his powerful words chases the devil away from the candidates for baptism. Formula 389, from the office of Maundy Thursday, is the exorcism formula to prepare the oil (olei exorcizati confectio) needed during the Triduum Sacrum, the three holy days preceding Easter: the opening words are Exorcizo te, creatura olei. In formula 404 one of the invocations on Good Friday recommends in the prayers of the faithful the different ranks of the clergy: Oremus et pro omnibus episcopis...acolytis, exorcistis. On Holy Saturday those who are going to be baptized pronounce the symbolum, the creed, after which the devil is again told to depart:

Damned one, give honour to the living and true God, give honour to Jesus Christ...in the name...of whom I order you to leave and move away from this servant of God.⁵⁰

Then the candidates are signed one by one on their chest between the shoulders with purified oil, and in order to abjure the Evil One even more clearly an alternating formula of renouncing follows: 'Do you abjure Satan?' 'I do'. 'And all his works?' 'I do'. 'And all his pomp?' 'I do'.⁵¹ After that the deacon sends the candidates home, telling them they must be ready to be baptized during the night of Holy Saturday.

On that night the office starts with the *consecratio fontis*, the consecration of the baptismal water, with, among other formulas, this flaming exorcism:

Every evil spirit therefore must at your command, Lord, depart; all wickedness of devilish deceit must disappear; no irruption of hostile power may have any room here: it must not fly around peeping, not smuggle away anything, not corrupt by infection. May this holy and innocent creature be free from all enemy assault, and be purified by the disappearance of all wickedness. May it be a living fountainhead, water of recovery, a purifying stream, that all those who are going to be cleansed through this salutary bath may obtain by the action of the Holy Spirit the indulgence of a perfect purification.⁵²

⁵⁰ Sacramentarium Gelasianum 419: Damnate, da honorem Deo vivo et vero, da honorem Iesu Christo Filio eius et Spiritui Sancto, in cuius nomine atque virtute praecipio tibi ut exeas et recedas ab hoc famulo Dei.

¹⁵¹ Sacramentarium Gelasianum 421: Abrenuncias Satanae? Abrenuncio. Et omnibus operibus eius? Abrenuncio. Et omnibus pompis eius? Abrenuncio.

⁵² Sacramentarium Gelasianum 445: Procul ergo hinc iubente te, Domine, omnis spiritus inmundus abscedat, procul tota nequitia diabolicae fraudis absistat, nihil hic loci habeat contrariae virtutis admixtio; non insidiando circumvolet, non latendo subripiat,

After that the baptism of the newborn takes place,⁵³ followed by the further ceremonial of the Easter Vigil culminating in the first participation in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The newborn children (*infantes*) were by now believers (*fideles*) in the full sense of the word, safe in the bosom of the Mother Church. And possibly, in looking back on the road they travelled, they concluded with satisfaction that for their sake the devil had been tackled by word-of-mouth.

non inficiendo corrumpat. Sit haec sancta et innocens creatura libera ab omni inpugnatoris incursu et totius nequitiae purgata discessu. Sit fons vivus, aqua regenerans, unda purificans, ut omnes hoc lavacro salutifero diluendi operante in eis Spiritu Sancto perfectae purgationis indulgentiam consequantur.

53 Sacramentarium Gelasianum 449–452.



IUSTIN MARTYR AND HIS DEMON-RIDDEN UNIVERSE

Theodoor Korteweg

Introduction: Who is the Real Justin?

In many textbooks and surveys of early-Christian literature Justin Martyr is still represented as the 'founder of Christian humanism' (C.J. de Vogel), a broadminded spirit who tried to establish 'the harmony of Christianity and Greek Philosophy' (H. Chadwick)² or even 'a marriage between two divergent religious and cultural traditions' (Richard A. Norris, Jr.).3 Especially Justin's doctrine of the 'seminal Logos' (λόγος σπερματικός), the Universal Reason that is sown or sows itself out into all rational creatures and in which Greek philosophers and Old Testament prophets participated on an equal footing before it was fully revealed in Christ,4 is often regarded as the central tenet around which most of his thought revolves. On the basis of modern investigations Stephan Heid in his recent article in the Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum qualifies this positive picture in many respects, but even he concludes finally that Justin should be given the honour of having been the first to have reflected on the 'dialogue between Christianity and Greek philosophy',5 although he adds a bit later that this did not amount in Justin's eyes to a complete reconciliation.⁶

In my opinion it would not be difficult on the basis of a cursory reading of Justin's writings to paint an entirely different portrait. Not that of a Justin who was above all concerned with the reasonableness

¹ C.J. de Vogel, Wijsgerige aspecten van het vroeg-christelijk denken (Baarn: Het Wereldvenster, 1970), 22.

² H. Chadwick, Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition. Studies in Justin, Clement, and Origen (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1966), 10.

³ In *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Frances Young, Lewis Ayres and Andrew Louth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 39.

⁴ On the passive or active sense of the adjective σπερματικός see J.C.M. van Winden, *De ware wijsheid. Wegen van vroeg-christelijk denken* (Baarn: Ambo, 1992), 68. The passive sense is nowadays generally rejected.

⁵ RAC 19, ed. Th. Klauser et al. (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1999), col. 842.

⁶ Ibidem, col. 844.

of religion,7 and so became responsible for the Hellenization of Christianity,8 but rather that of a herald and witness to the truth in a world that was not only dominated, but even bewitched by demons, and therefore irrevocably bound to its destruction, although for those who converted in time salvation was still possible. 'In delineating the picture of Justin as an apologist in the Greek world', as Leslie W. Barnard aptly remarked in his monograph on Justin, 'it should not be forgotten that his main practical concern, as with his fellow Christians, lay in winning the increasing fight against evil spirits which were seeking to win control of the universe and the souls of men." His message, therefore, was certainly not that there could be a harmony between belief and reason, nor that humanity had been gradually educated until Christ, in which process Greek philosophy had also made its contribution, but that the great conflagration of the universe was drawing near, as had been predicted by the prophets of the Old Testament, but also by Hystaspes and the Sibyl. 10 In it the whole demon-ridden world civilization, Greek philosophy included, would perish forever. It is true that in Justin's view a similar eschatological perspective could be found in Plato, 11 and on the basis of half-understood prophetic predictions¹² the Stoics even expected a real ἐκπύρωσις, ¹³ but according to Justin neither of them had grasped the true meaning of it all. So as a matter of fact harmony existed at most between the predictions of the prophets and those of Hystaspes and the Sybil, but not between Christianity and the doctrines of the Greek philosophers. For not only had they taken most of their insights from the prophets of the Old Testament, but under the influence of the demons they subsequently

⁷ According to A. Sizoo, Geschiedenis der Oud-christelijke Griekse letterkunde (Haarlem: Bohn, 1952), 44, Justin's main problem was how to bring Christianity into conformity with the data of Greek Philosophy.

⁸ See Van Winden, De ware wijsheid, 69f.

⁹ L.W. Barnard, Justin Martyr. His Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 110. Cf. Erwin R. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr (Jena: Frommann, 1923), 205: 'The chief attention of the Christianity of Justin's day was centered upon winning the never ending fight against the actual incursions and seductions of the demonic host.'

¹⁰ Apol. I 20.1 and 44.12. On Hystaspes and the Sibyl as 'Organe der Dämonen' see S. Heid, RAC 19, col. 811. In fact, according to Justin the demons, far from using Hystaspes and the Sibyl as their organs, rather try to prevent people from taking to heart the warnings contained in their books! They induced the authorities to decree the death penalty against whoever read them (Apol. I 44.12).

¹¹ Apol. I 8.4. ¹² Apol. I 60.8–11; II 7.2–3.

¹³ Apol. I 20.4; 60.8–10; II 7.3.

misunderstood and even distorted what they had taken. Thus together with the Greek gods and their mythology, they were part of a corrupted civilization on its way to final doom.

JUSTIN YET ANOTHER ADMIRER OF PLATO AND SOCRATES?

However, the question arises whether or not at the close of his Second Apology Justin explicitly accepts Plato's opinions as not entirely strange to those of Christ (οὐχ ὅτι ἀλλότριά ἐστι τὰ Πλάτωνος διδάγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ).¹⁴ While that is certainly what he says, one should not overlook how he adds in the same breath that this also applies to all the others, viz. the Stoics, the poets, and the historians. And if that is true, he declares, if at times indeed 'they have spoken well,' those cases did not come about as a result of their own doing, for then the λόγος σπερματικός had used them as organs. 15 What they uttered, therefore, was nothing more than a kind of imitation of the truth, which they had received by 'grace' and 'according to their capacity.'16 It is important to note that in Justin's estimation the philosophers apparently do not a priori rank higher than the poets whom he holds in great contempt and consistently opposes throughout his exposition. The reason was that they had imitated the prophets, just as the philosophers, and as a result of their imitation had also become corrupted and perverted under the influence of demons.

But is it not the case that Socrates, in the same way as the prophets, Hystaspes, the Sibyl and, afterwards, the Christians, eventually turned against the demons and so, like them, became the object of their vengeance? And did not Justin, even after his conversion, still harbour

¹⁴ Apol. II 13.2.

That is why the hotly debated difference between the theories of the borrowing by the Greek authors from the Old Testament and that of their inspiration by the *Logos* is after all of no great account: in both cases the elements of truth in their statements came from elsewhere. In fact, the first time that $\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ ἀληθείας are mentioned by Justin, in *Apol.* I 44.10, it is in the context of the theory of their borrowing from the Old Testament prophets!

¹⁶ Apol. II 13.5–6. In my opinion in par. 6 there is no opposition between the truth received 'according to their capacity' (by the pagans) and 'participation by grace' (for the Christians), as is e.g. suggested by J.M. Pfättisch, Justinus' des Philosophen und Märtyrers Apologien, II. Teil: Kommentar (Münster i. W.: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912), 142ff., but only between imitation (mimèma) and the original from which it stems. Exactly the same thought occurs in Dial. 6.1: ἕτερον δέ τι τὸ μετέχον τινὸς ἐκείνου οὕ μετέχει. And according to Apol. I 46.2 'participation' (μετουσία) with respect to the Logos extends to the whole of humankind.

a deep veneration for Socrates, as has been pointed out especially by Adolf Harnack in his famous address on Sokrates und die alte Kirche?¹⁷ But even if that were indeed the case, it still remains true that Socrates is here put on a par not only with Heraclitus and Musonius Rufus, but with the Stoics and the poets in general. When in Apol. I 46.3 Justin puts Socrates and Heraclitus (here too καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς, 'with their like') in the company not just of Abraham and the friends of Daniel and Elijah, 19 but also of the Christians as such, he plainly does so not on account of their positive doctrines, which in some cases do not exist at all, but because of their common reputation of ἀθεότης and their resistance to idolatry. In my opinion, therefore, there is no reason to assume that Justin's admiration for Socrates went any further than that he used him handily as an argument ad hominem in his apology. In any case, Socrates and his peers can offer no more proof than the Christians themselves to convince Justin of the validity of the culture of which they were a part. The most that can be said is that they were notable exceptions in a demon-ridden world.20

Another Approach to Justin and his Demonology

But if Justin as a preacher and a witness to the truth²¹ saw his own and Christianity's mission above all in breaking the spell which evil demons had cast over the world and over the culture in which he

¹⁷ The address was held before Berlin University on October 15, 1900, and is included in Adolf Harnack, *Reden und Aufsätze* I (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1904), 27–48.

¹⁸ Apol. II 8.1; cf. also I 18.5 where, according to W. Schmid, Socrates should be replaced by Xenocrates. See R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press. 1988), 63.

adelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1988), 63.

19 On this enumeration, see O. Skarsaune, "The Conversion of Justin Martyr," Studia Theologica 30 (1976), 64ff.; R.M. Price, 'Are there "Holy Pagans" in Justin Martyr?, 'Studia Patristica 31, ed. E.A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 167–171, and M. Fiedrowicz, Christen und Heiden. Quellentexte zu ihrer Auseinandersetzung in der Antike (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), 694.

²⁰ Cf. the literature cited by J.M. Rist in G.R. Evans (ed.), *The First Christian Theologians* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 113 n. 9 on the idea, found in Hermias and Clement of Alexandria, of philosophy as a product of the fallen angels. Add J.H. Waszink on Tertullian, *De anima* II 3 (104ff.). For a quite different outlook see Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 19ff. where Plato's speech is considered to be 'nearly heavenly' and the whole survey of ancient philosophy given in this chapter ends with the suggestion 'ut quiuis arbitretur aut nunc Christianos philosophos esse aut philosophos fuisse iam tunc Christianos.'

²¹ Compare Tatian calling himself κῆρυξ τῆς ἀληθείας (*Or.* 17.1) with Justin, *Apol.* II 15 praying τῆς ἀληθείας, καταξιωθῆναι τοὺς πάντη πάντας ἀνθρώπους. On the importance of the notion of 'truth' in Justin's works, cf. above all E.F. Osborn, *Justin*

lived, as was stated correctly by L.W. Barnard and before him by E.R. Goodenough, why did that widespread image of him as a mediator between Christianity and Greek philosophical culture surface at all? And why does his reputation as the thinker who introduced intellectualism into the Christian world hold its ground until today,22 in spite of some critical voices that periodically make themselves heard?²³ Why is Justin, philosophus et martyr, as Tertullian was the first to call him in Adversus Valentinianos 5.1, on the whole still more considered a philosopher than a martyr and witness to the truth, a champion-fighter against a demonized universe and a demonized culture? Is it perhaps because he himself was proud of still wearing the philosopher's cloak even after his conversion?²⁴ I suspect that another explanation may be more to the point: up till Stephan Heid's RAC-article in 2000 most treatments of Justin commonly used what one may call the locusmethod, according to a scheme derived from manuals of systematic theology. His doctrine of God, of creation, his Christology, and his anthropology were successively discussed in comprehensive fashion, whereby Justin's demonology was usually relegated to a subordinate position. Heid devotes hardly one of his forty columns to this topic,²⁵ and Leslie W. Barnard, for all his sharp insight into the relevance of the demons for Justin's picture of the universe, offers an explicit treatment only in an appendix to his chapter on the Holy Ghost and the

Martyr (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973). See also his article in *First Christian Theologians*, ed. G.R. Evans, 115–120.

²² See Van Winden, De ware wijsheid, 69ff.

²³ Notably A. Harnack, who in his *Dogmengeschichte* I (Tübingen: Mohr, 1909; 4th ed.), 513 concludes from Justin's argument in his *Dialogue with Trypho* that true wisdom can only derive from revelation and is therefore the opposite of any human philosophy. 'Der Christ ist der Philosoph, weil im Grunde der Platoniker und der Stoiker keine Philosophen sind. Der Titel "Philosophie" für das Christenthum soll also Christen und Philosophen nicht näher zusammenbringen.' Of special importance in this regard is the discussion between C.J. de Vogel and J.C.M. van Winden in the Dutch periodical *Lampas* 6 (1973), 230–254 and 358–364. Cf. also A. Davids, 'Justin Martyr on Monotheism and Heresy' in *In navolging. Festschrift for C.C. de Bruin* M.J.M. de Haan et al., eds., (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 210–234.

²⁴ See on this matter in connection with the problem of whether Justin saw any continuity between Greek Philosophy, especially Platonism, and Christianity the discussion in Niels Hyldahl, *Philosophie und Christentum. Eine Interpretation der Einleitung zum Dialog Justins* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966), 102–112, and the criticism of J.C.M. van Winden, *An Early Christian Philosopher. Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, Chapters One to Nine, Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 23–25.

²⁵ Col. 837ff.

Trinity.²⁶ The demons, who in Justin's eyes not only dominated the world in which he lived, but largely determined his personal mission and that of Christianity as a whole are in this way being reduced to a rather odd appendage, borrowed from either the Jewish-Christian²⁷ or the Greek philosophical²⁸ tradition, to his general views on God, the world, humanity, its origin and its destination.

That it is virtually impossible to do justice to Justin's demonology in the context of a more or less systematically arranged summary of his teaching may already be clear from the poor results which scholarly research on this topic has yielded up till now. Twice there is a reference to the story, deriving from the Jewish Enoch tradition, of the fall of the angels after they had defiled themselves with earthly women.²⁹ Yet whereas his pupil Tatian tells us quite a few things about the essence of the demons, their composition out of $\pi v \epsilon \hat{v} \mu \alpha$ like fire and air,30 their visibility, the way of their immortality and freedom of will etc., Justin remains completely silent on all these questions, at least in his writings as they have come down to us.³¹ The reason for this is that his interest in this matter is not focused on systematic and cosmological aspects (although, as I hope to make clear, cosmology still plays its part), but on what I would like to call soteriology and salvation-history. For Justin the demons are important because they were the ones who in ancient times drove mankind to its perdition and have enslaved and dominated it ever since. At the same time he is of course convinced that they are presently heading for their final doom and that their dominion has in fact already been broken because of Christ's complete victory over them on the cross. Especially this latter motif is a subject to which he returns time and again, not only in his two Apologies but also in his Dialogue with Trypho.

²⁶ Barnard, Justin Martyr, 106-110.

²⁷ So Goodenough and Barnard. Cf. also the important discussion in J. Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme* (Paris: Desclée, 1958), 146–151 and id., *Message évangelique et culture hellénistique* (Paris: Desclée, 1961), 391–408.

²⁸ So J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten* (Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1907), 216–221. On 221 Geffcken states as his conclusion 'dass die christliche Dämonologie von derselben Strömung getragen und von demselben Geiste durchflutet wird wie die griechisch-römische.'

²⁹ Apol. I 5 which is a clear versio hellenistica of the Jewish story as told in II 5.

 $^{^{30}}$ Or 15.3

³¹ There may have been some more information in the *lacuna* between *Dial.* 74.3 and 4. Also a lost *Oratio ad Graecos* may have contained additional data.

By way of example one only needs to mention the well-known passage in Apol. I 55 about the cross as a symbol of the power and the lordship of Christ and a token of victory (τρόπαιον).³² We may compare this with Dial. 49.8 on 'the hidden power of God in the crucified Christ, for whom the demons tremble and in a word all principalities and powers of the earth.' With this trembling (φρίσσειν)³³ of the demons before the cross Justin seems to adopt a traditional theme which we also find in two related texts and which may reveal to us something about the background and meaning of Christ's victory over the demons in his religious universe. The first one is from the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistle to the Philippians 3.3, where we read that 'the Ruler of this world' knows that 'the confession of the cross' means his undoing. 'For that is the symbol of victory (τρόπαιον) against his power and when he looks to it he trembles (φρίττει) and when he hears of it he is afraid.'34 The second text is from the Excerpta ex Theodoto (77.3) and deals with baptism. It states that the one who has been baptized, as soon as he rises from the water, is called a 'servant of God' and 'lord over the unclean spirits.' 'And for him,' the text then continues, 'in whom they shortly before were still active, they now already tremble (φρίσσουσιν).'35 Thus we are reminded of the ritual of baptism by which Christ's victory over the demons through his cross, i.e., his

³² On the cross as τρόπαιον, see F.J. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und die Schwarze. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie zum Taufgelöbnis* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1918), 133ff. and G.Q. Reijners, *The Terminology of the Holy Cross in Early Christian Literature* (Nijmegen-Utrecht: Dekker en Van de Vegt, 1965), 190ff. (with special attention to Justin).

 $^{^{33}}$ Cf. PGM IV 3017: παντὸς δαίμονος φρικτόν, δ φοβεῖται. In $\it Dial.$ 30.3 in the same context Justin uses τρέμειν.

³⁴ Text in F. Diekamp, *Patres Apostolici* II (Tübingen: In Libraria Henrici Laupp, 1913), 150.

³⁵ F. Sagnard, *Extraits de Théodote* (SC 23), (Paris: Cerf, 1970; 2nd ed.), 201 wrongly associates this with James 2:19. One should rather compare statements like that of *Test. Dan* V 1: 'from a person in whom the Lord dwells Beliar will flee away,' and *Test. Benj.* V 2: 'When you do well, the unclean spirits will flee from you and the wild beasts themselves will fear you. For where the light of good works is in one's mind, from him the darkness flees away.' Cf. also Pastor Hermae, *Mand.* XII 2.4: 'If the evil desire sees you armed with the fear of the Lord and resisting it, it will flee to a distance out of sight from you, out of fear for your armor' (transl. Carolyn Osiek, *The Shepherd of Hermas* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1999), 148). On the fleeing unclean spirits and the fleeing devil, see also Luke 11:24–26 (= Matth. 12: 43–45) and James 4:7. The idea behind all this is that conversion and baptism make a person into a dwelling-place of the Lord (cf. Paul telling us in Gal. 2:20 that since his conversion Christ dwells in him) and where the Lord dwells, the demons lose their power.

'suffering' (πάθος, *Dial.* 30.3),³⁶ is applied to the individual believer, with the result that the demons now subject themselves to him and tremble for him as they had done for his Lord. It is remarkable to see how often in Justin Christ's actual victory on the cross on the one hand, and his followers' conversion to Christianity and the exorcistic power that goes with it on the other, converge into a single perspective. This is the case e.g. in *Dial.* 30.3, where we first hear of conversion to Christianity as a final separation from the demons 'whom we used to worship,' and are told immediately afterwards of demons who are exorcized today (σήμερον) by the name of Jesus Christ, the Crucified. To him the Father gave such great power that even the demons are now subject both to his name and to the dispensation (οἰκονομία) of his suffering (πάθος).

EXORCISM: A CHANGE OF SCENE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND FOR THE UNIVERSE AS A WHOLE

Some decades ago a lively discussion erupted in connection with certain positions taken by the American historian Ramsay MacMullen on the role miracles in general, and exorcisms in particular, played in Christianity's spread throughout the ancient world.³⁷ Should we think that exorcism as a way of making converts was still an actual practice in the time of Justin Martyr, as he himself seems to suggest in *Apol.* II 5.5ff.?³⁸ Now it seems difficult to deny that Justin does in fact

 $^{^{36}}$ For the association cross/suffering/baptism cf. *Ep. Barn.* XI with testimonies περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ and Ignatius, *Ad Ephes.* XVIII 2: ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρίση. See also 1 Cor. 1:13 where in connection with baptism Paul asks his readers whether he himself had been crucified for them or whether they had been baptized in his name.

³⁷ R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1981), and id., *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1984). See the criticism of M. van Uytfanghe, 'La controverse biblique et patristique autour du miracle, et ses répercussions sur l'hagiographie dans l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Âge latin,' in *Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés, iv-xii siècles* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes), 1981, 205–233, and cf. Danny Praet, *De God der goden. De christianisering van het Romeinse Rijk* (Kapellen/Kampen: Pelckmans/Kok-Agora, 1995), 62–69, who refers to the rather skeptical conclusion of D.E. Aune, *Magic in Early Christianity* (ANRW II 23, 2), 1549. See also R.L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth-New York: Penguin, 1986), 327–330, who also prefers 'a more cautious line' than Ramsay MacMullen (727).

 $^{^{38}}$ Compare Apol. II 5.5: καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ὄψιν γινομένων μάθειν δύνασθε with Dial. 85.1: ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ὄψιν γινομένων and the ensuing discussion of Jewish and pagan exorcistic practices.

refer to real exorcisms which occur under people's eyes, so in his own time. Be that as it may, such references neither mean that exorcisms should be put on a par with all kinds of other miracles nor that they should be considered a mere means of propagandizing Christianity in the pagan world. Exorcism, on the contrary, was never merely seen as just another miracle showing the power of the Christian God, but as a sign of liberation from error ($\pi\lambda\alpha\eta$, Apol. I 56.3), deceit ($\alpha\pi\alpha\eta$, Apol. I 14.1), and 'irrational passion' (Apol. I 5.1; cf. 3.1), as well as of conversion to the truth. In this way conversion, baptism, and exorcism realize for the individual believer what in Justin's eyes has been the decisive event of salvation history: Christ's victory over the demons on the cross.

As I already hinted, however, salvation for Justin is never limited to the individual believer, but should be seen in a wider cosmological context. Christ's victory over the demons, which for him certainly is the basic fact of the Gospel, is not just an event of the past, but determines the present in which he lives, not only of the individual, but of the world as a whole. It has brought with it the big renewal,³⁹ in which everything that was 'old', the 'old way of life' (τὰ παλαιά, ἐν οἷς πλανῶμενοι ἀνεστράφησαν, Apol. I 53.3),40 has completely disappeared. In *Dial*. 121.2 this is associated with the name *Anatolè* in Zech. 6:12, by which Justin takes the prophet to refer to Christ. 'His word of truth and wisdom,' we are told, 'is more blazing and more brilliant than the sun's might, and enters into the very depths of the heart and mind' (εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς καρδίας καὶ τοῦ νοῦ εἰσδύνων). Then we hear, with another reference to Zechariah, that on the appearance of this light tribe by tribe will lament and so it is, Justin continues, that even at Christ's first coming 'without honour and form' his light shone with so much brilliance that among every nation there were those who repented of the old, evil way of their race. This was itself a token of the subjection of the demons to his name, which filled all the principalities and kingdoms with great fear. He will destroy all those who hated him and rebelled against him even more at his second coming.

³⁹ The special subject of the *Dialogue* makes that the argument focuses above all on the 'new covenant' (*Dial.* 11; cf. the 'new law' and the 'new lawgiver' in *Dial.* 14), which also requires a new conduct of life. And see *Apol.* I 61, where the believers are renewed by baptism (καινοποιηθέντες, 61.1).

⁴⁰ Cf. Dial. 14.3: 'the old and worthless deeds' and 121.3: the παλαιὰ πολιτεία.

Here it is almost impossible not to be reminded of the famous hymnic fragment in the nineteenth chapter of Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians on the 'new star,' which at Christ's coming (or ascensus)⁴¹ appeared to the cosmos, and 'whose light surpassed everything.' 'Hence all magic was vanguished and every bondage of evil dissolved. Ignorance was destroyed and the ancient kingdom was brought to ruin, when God became manifest in a human way, for the newness of eternal life.' Finally, the reign of death will also be abolished. The comparison is even more telling, if we extend it to a few related texts, viz. Excerpta ex Theodoto 74 and Corpus Hermeticum XVI 16. Theodotus too speaks of a 'new star' shining with 'a new light, not of this world,' showing 'new ways of salvation.' This time it is the 'the ancient ordinance of the stars' (τὴν παλαιὰν ἀστροθεσίαν) that the new star brings to an end, which means in practice that those who believe in Christ are liberated from the power of the είμαρμένη and put under the protection of God's providence (πρόνοια). 42 In C.H. XVI 16 the same process is described in the following way:

Thus, if by way of the sun anyone has a ray shining upon him in his rational part (and the totality thus enlightened is a few), the demon's effect on him is nullified ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\gamma\circ\hat{\nu}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ of $\delta\alpha(\mu\nu\nu\epsilon\varsigma)$). For none—neither demons nor gods—can do anything against a single ray of god. All the others the demons carry off as spoils, both souls and bodies. (...) So, with our bodies as their instruments, the demons govern this earthly government. Hermes has called this government "fate."

Although in all texts quoted thus far the appearance of the 'new light' certainly has a cosmic dimension to it, especially as it destroys the reign of 'fate,' there is, of course, at the same time an individual aspect: the light enters 'the very depths of heart and mind' (Justin), it shines in our 'rational part' (*C.H.* XVI 16), or it liberates us from the power of the εἰμαρμένη and puts us under divine protection (*Exc. ex Theod.*).

⁴¹ See for this possibility H. Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1929), 5–32.

⁴² In Exc. ex Theod. 72.1 the Lord provides the believers 'peace' from the combat of the Powers struggling against and the Angels fighting for them. It is the same either/ or that we found in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in The Shepherd of Hermas (see n. 35).

⁴³ Transl. Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 60ff. Note that in *Exc. ex Theod.* 72.2–73, 1, the Powers are also called brigands who act through the bodies of their victims against their souls and so enslave them. In Tatian, *Or.* 14, the demons are similarly compared with brigands.

It is obvious that in Christian texts the connection with conversion and baptism is then never far away.⁴⁴ So Tatian, who in his *Discourse against the Greeks* also connects the reign of the demons with the εἰμαρμένη, can say that those who have become Christians stand above the εἰμαρμένη and have been liberated from the power of the planets/demons whom they no longer recognize (9.2).⁴⁵ J. de Zwaan, who dealt with these matters in his Groningen inaugural address of 1914, assumed that Tatian was speaking here of a 'salvation through knowledge.' 'Whether it is only a knowledge received by the mind,' he continues, 'or has a sacramental aspect to it as well, Tatian leaves in the dark.'⁴⁶ In my opinion, however, the connection with conversion and baptism is quite plausible, especially since in a similar context, as we shall presently see, we find it explicitly in Justin.

Now it is true that Justin seems to have only a theoretical interest in the εἰμαρμένη as a Stoic doctrine, and an entirely negative one at that, and never relates it to the demons, as does his pupil Tatian. Nevertheless, he is well aware that demons try to enslave people by means of dream-apparitions and magical arts (Apol. I 14.1).⁴⁷ Conversion then, of course, takes on the meaning of a liberation from this slavery and a completely new life. Moreover, precisely in the chapter of his First Apology that is devoted to baptism (61), Justin, basing himself explicitly on apostolic tradition (λόγον...είς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμάθομεν τοῦτον, 61.9), characterizes this new life as a transition from slavery under the ἀνάγκη to a life in freedom 'in order that we should no longer be children of ἀνάγκη, but children of freedom and knowledge (τέκνα προαιρέσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης, 61.10).' Apparently for Justin baptism has an objective meaning beyond its subjective side: there is something very concrete and real happening to the believer who is transferred from the realm of the demons into the domain of freedom and henceforth lives under special divine protection. 'Until

⁴⁴ Not for nothing there is the frequent use of φωτίζειν and φωτισμός with reference to baptism (possibly already in Heb. 6:4 and then quite regularly from Justin onwards). For the association of baptism with light, see Eph. 5:14 and the materials collected in H.J.W. Drijvers and G.J. Reinink, 'Taufe und Licht. Tatian, Ebionäerevangelium und Thomasakten,' in *Text and Testimony. Festschrift for A.F.J. Klijn* (Kampen: Kok. 1988), 91–110, where 'word' (λόνος) also plays its part

Kok, 1988), 91–110, where 'word' (λόγος) also plays its part.

45 Cf. 29.2: the Christian faith dissolves the cosmic slavery (λύει τὴν ἐν κόσμφ δουλείαν) and liberates us from the many rulers and the innumerable tyrants.

⁴⁶ J. de Zwaan, Christendom en oriëntalisme (Haarlem: Bohn, 1914), 22.

⁴⁷ Compare the renewal of life as experienced by the Christians described in *Apol.* I 14 with the descriptions in 61.1 and in *Dial.* 121.3.

baptism,' as we read in *Exc. ex Theod.* 78, 'the εἰμαρμένη is a reality. ⁴⁸ After that astrology does no longer apply. '⁴⁹ Even after Christ's victory, however, both Justin and Tatian assume that the domination of the demons still holds sway over the common herd of the people. ⁵⁰ That in Justin's opinion the divine π ρόνοια watches mainly over the Christians becomes especially clear from a somewhat enigmatic passage at the beginning of *Apol.* II 7, where the continued existence of the universe, and consequently also of the power of the demons, seems to serve above all the interest of the 'seed of the Christians,' because God knows that it is the pivot on which the whole creation hinges. ⁵¹

Why, nevertheless, the Demons are Still Active

⁴⁸ In *Apol.* I 44.11 Justin associates the εἰμαρμένη with ἀνάγκη. See also P.W. van der Horst in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1999; 2nd ed.), s.v. Anankè (35ff.) and especially E. Peterson in id., *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Rome: Herder, 1959), 107–128 ('Die Befreiung Adams aus der Anankè').

⁴⁹ Cf. Tertullian, De idololatria 9: 'At enim scientia ista (sc. astrology) usque ad Evangelium fuit concessa, ut Christo edito nemo exinde nativitatem alicuius de caelo interpretetur.' See M. Simon, Hercule et le christianisme (Paris: Editions Ophrys, 1955), 23.

⁵⁰ Cf. Apol. II 7.1–2; Tatian, Or. 12.4.

⁵¹ Cf. Aristides, *Apol.* XVI 1 and *Ep. ad Diognetum* VI. On Aristides see Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten*, a.l. (92ff.); on Diognetus see H.I. Marrou, À *Diognète* (SC 33bis) (Paris: Cerf, 1965; 2nd ed.), 149–176 and, especially on Justin, 152–154. Marrou fails to mention *II Clem.* XIV 1 on the Church having been created 'before the sun and the moon', cf. Hermas, *Vis.* II 4.1: the Church was created 'first of all' and because of it the world was prepared (καὶ διὰ ταύτην ὁ κόσμος κατηρτίσθη). Behind this is the Jewish doctrine of the *providentia specialissima* on behalf of the people of Israel, see e.g., Deut. 32:8–9. On *II Clem.* XIV 1 see A. Lindemann, *Die Clemensbriefe* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), a.l. (240ff.). On Justin's doctrine of πρόνοια, see J.C.M. van Winden, *Wijsheid* (n. 4), 26ff.

⁵² Cf. Papias, fr. 4 (*Die apostolischen Väter*, ed. Funk-Bihlmeyer 1924, 137) and Athenagoras, Leg. 24ff., and, on this passage, L.W. Barnard, Athenagoras. A Study in Second Century Christian Apologetic (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972), 111–113.

argument up to the end of chapter 8, where we hear again of the special hatred which the demons harbour against the Christians. Although this may explain their present misfortunes, Justin is at the same time firmly convinced that the exorcistic authority which Christians have received from Christ is an unquestionable guarantee that the demons with all their followers will finally be cast into the everlasting fire.

It seems apt to conclude that in spite of Christ's decisive victory and in spite of the liberation from the demons imparted to the Christians in the ritual of conversion and baptism, and even in spite of the special πρόνοια to which they were entrusted since then, Justin and his fellow Christians saw themselves still confronted with a demonridden universe, in which they had to experience the demonic power in their own bodies. Even the many exorcisms taking place 'under our eyes' (ὑπ' ὄψιν), could not prevent the demons from unleashing their hatred against the Christians in severe persecutions and from trying to bring the audience before which Justin tried to defend his fellow believers against injustice, under their spell to a degree that made it impervious to reasonable argument.⁵³ Although it is Justin's sincere hope, as is clear from the beginning of his First and the close of his Second Apology, to be able to convince his listeners of 'the truth,'54 and although his apologetic argument has apart from a defensive also a protreptic function,55 he intimates several times that he is skeptical about his chances for success. But he has done everything in his power (ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦν πράξαντες, II 15.4), 56 as he remarks when taking leave of them. And before and after he stays certain that whoever judges according to reason (κατὰ τὸν ἐξεταστικὸν λόγον, Apol. I 2.3),⁵⁷ will have to confirm that he is right and must consequently see through the deceit of the demons. At least that much is possible in the present. Although there is no way of fully eliminating the demons and one still has to endure their steady assaults, one can nevertheless try to unmask them. That is what Socrates did when through rational investigation (λόγω άληθεῖ καὶ ἐξεταστικῶς, Apol. I 5.3) he exposed their fraud and tried to draw people away from their influence.

 $^{^{53}}$ Cf. Apol. I 14.1 and I 5.1 (ἀλόγφ πάθει καὶ μαστίγι δαιμόνων φαύλων ἐξελαυνόμενοι).

⁵⁴ Already in *Apol.* I 2.1 'the truth' is thrice mentioned and in II 15.4 there is the solemnly uttered wish that his audience may have its share in 'the truth.'

⁵⁵ Cf. Apol. I 55, 8: προτρεψάμενοι ὑμᾶς. See S. Heid, RAC 19, coll. 818 and 823.

⁵⁶ Cf. I 55.8: όση δύναμις and τὸ γὰρ ἡμέτερον γέγονε καὶ πεπέρανται.

 $^{^{57}}$ Cf. Apol. Ι 55.8: δὶα λόγου...καὶ σχήματος τοῦ φαινομένου...προτρεψάμενοι ὑμᾶς.

CONCLUSION: JUSTIN'S VIEW OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Here then we are back again to Justin the philosopher. But now we realize that the difference between the philosopher and the martyr and witness to the truth does not really exist. The rational approach that Justin advocates does not introduce intellectualism into Christianity,58 it is not an invitation to speculative theological thought and it is not the first installment in a gradual process of Hellenization. On the contrary, this rationality brings salvation and sets us free. It means, in the words of J. de Zwaan with regard to Tatian,⁵⁹ 'salvation through knowledge.' It elevates the believer above the current universe dominated by demons by enlightening his mind. As we already saw, it was Justin who for the first time called baptism by the name of 'enlightenment' (φωτισμός). According to Joseph Ysebaert this terminology is not found in the more popular literature, but only in more educated authors who connect the enlightenment received in baptism with the mind's advance in the knowledge of God.⁶⁰ Of course this knowledge concerns above all the Christian monotheistic faith, which repudiates the many rulers who threaten and endanger this sublunary world and directs us instead to the one and only true God who disposes of everything, including the demons and their realm.⁶¹ Although the demons in this way are still not barred from all activity, nevertheless their spell is broken for the believer. As Henry Chadwick has repeated on several occasions, 62 for Justin there existed no tension at all between his philosophical rationalism on the one hand and a massive belief in the facts of Christian salvation history on the other. In this respect his theology is indeed, as Chadwick puts it,63 'free from any breath of demythologization.' That is because, as we have seen, those facts concern one and the same reality to which the Logos is also turned: victory over the demons and exposure of their apostasy and deceit. In Justin's eyes Logos and salvation history go together all the way. As long as the latter has not come to its final fulfillment, it is the Logos that makes life in a demon-ridden universe at least bearable.

⁵⁸ See n. 22.

⁵⁹ See n. 46

⁶⁰ J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology. Its Origins and Early Development* (Nijmegen: Dekker en Van de Vegt, 1962), 176.

⁶¹ Cf. Apol. I 14.1.

⁶² H. Chadwick, Early Christian Thought (see n. 2), 18ff. and id., 'Justin Martyr's Defence of Christianity,' Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 47, 2 (1965) 293.

⁶³ Chadwick, Early Christian Thought, 18.

DEMONS WITHOUT AND WITHIN: THE REPRESENTATION OF DEMONS, THE SAINT, AND THE SOUL IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LIVES, LETTERS AND SAYINGS

Nienke Vos

Introduction

In this article, I want to discuss one aspect of the way in which demons are portrayed and interpreted in some early Christian texts, namely the extent to which they are seen as representative of external or internal forces. The original sources and their modern commentators offer rather different perspectives on this question.

On the one hand, present-day authors seem to emphasize the psychological aspect of demons at the expense of their external appearance. Douglas Burton-Christie, for example, writes in *The Word in the Desert*:

The often graphic and cartoonlike imagery of these demons in the *Saying* belies the clear sense among the monks that the real drama of the demonic was psychological. The demonic "was sensed as an extension of the self. A relationship with the demons involved someting more intimate than attack from the outside: to 'be tried by demons' meant passing through a stage in the growth of awareness of the lower frontiers of the personality. The demonic stood not merely for all that was hostile *to* man; the demons summed up all that was anomalous and incomplete *in* man." The monks showed themselves to be fully aware that the source of their most trenchant and problematic impulses and actions arose from within themselves.¹

In this section, Burton-Christie quotes from *The Making of Late Antiquity* by Peter Brown.² In these citations, an interpretation of the demonic is presented which tends to identify the appearances of demons with inner problems such as bad thoughts or fears. In a sense, the external is representative of the self or the soul. Other scholars,

¹ D. Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 193.

² P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 90.

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however, emphasize the fact that the external description of demons must be distinguished from psychologically oriented views in which the soul of the saint is seen to be fissured or conflicted. By and large they do not equate the dimensions of an inner and an outer world. For instance, Michel Rene Barnes and David Brakke underline the external nature of the demons. In what follows, I will pay close attention to the contributions of Barnes and Brakke.³

With a difference of perspective between the inner and the outer world in mind, I will present two case-studies based on two sets of early Christian texts. In both cases, I will discuss a hagiographical text. Subsequently, I will compare the stylized image of the *vita* with the more direct voice found in other sources, such as letters and sayings. Thus, I will juxtapose the *Life of Antony* by Athanasius⁴ with Antony's own voice in one of his letters,⁵ and the *Life of Macrina* by Gregory of Nyssa⁶ with two sayings of amma Syncletica, one of the so-called desert mothers.⁷ Compared to the second case, more space will be devoted to the first set of texts because in that context I will discuss at length the contributions of various authors concerning demons and the conceptualization of the soul.

In each case I connect the issue of the external or internal portrayal of demons to the larger theme of how the saint's spiritual development is represented. Is the process of spiritual growth portrayed as a static

³ M.R. Barnes, 'Galen and Antony: Anger and Disclosure,' in *Studia Patristica* 30 (Biblica et Apocrypha, Ascetica, Liturgica), ed. E.A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 136–143; D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk. Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass/London: Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁴ Athanase d'Alexandrie (Athanasius Alexandrinus), *Vie d'Antoine* (*Vita Antonii* = *VA*), SC 400, G.J.M. Bartelink, ed., (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1994).

⁵ S. Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony. Monasticism and the Making of a Saint*, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1995; first published in 1990 as *The Letters of St. Antony. Origenist Theology, Monastic Tradition and The Making of a Saint*, Lund: Lund University Press).

⁶ Grégoire de Nysse (Gregorius Nyssenus), *Vie de sainte Macrine (Vita Macrinae = VM*), SC 178, P. Maraval, ed., (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1971).

⁷ B. Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers. The Alphabetical Collection* (Kalamazoo/Oxford: Cistercian Publications, 1975/1984, revised edition), 230–235. Sayings of the desert fathers and mothers are published in the following editions: *Les apophtegmes des pères. Collection systématique* (*Apophthegmata Patrum*), SC 387, 474 and 498, J.C. Guy, B. Flusin, B. Meunier, eds., (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1993–2005); *Apophthegmata Patrum. Collectio Alphabetica*, Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca 65, 71–440, J.P. Migne, ed., (Paris, 1886); *Apophthegmata Patrum. Collectio Alphabetica—Supplementa*, in *Recherches sur la Tradition Grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum*, Subsidia Hagiographica 36, J.C. Guy, ed., (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1962).

or a dynamic affair? I conclude that a connection exists between the way in which demons figure in the lives of saints and the way in which the progress of the saint is measured. Finally, I shall explain how this relates to the position of the reader.

Antony: Life and Letters

The Life of Antony

In this first section, I will discuss some aspects of demonic intervention in the *Life of Antony* by Athanasius of Alexandria. I will relate these to questions about the representation of the soul of the saint and his spiritual development. Subsequently, I will compare the views under discussion with Antony's letters.

In his book *Demons and the Making of the Monk*, David Brakke devotes an entire chapter to the *Life of Antony*. He emphasizes the fact that demons are conspicuously absent from the opening chapters of the *vita*, which describe the development of Antony's ascetic practice. According to Brakke, Antony does not 'need' demons in order to come into his own as an ascetic. They are not part of his growth process. Demons only become active once Antony's asceticism has been established.

When he makes his first appearance in chapter 5 of the *vita*, the devil tries to undermine Antony's ascetic and virtuous lifestyle by using sinful thoughts as a device.⁸ This attack on the mind is then followed by an attack on the body. In response, Antony resists these diabolical interventions and resorts to prayer, fasting, thoughts of good faith and quotations from Scripture. In this first phase,⁹ the physical appearance of the devil culminates in the form of a black boy who announces to Antony that he is the spirit of fornication and who tries to lure him into the realm of darkness. However, as the story unfolds, the saint stands tall.¹⁰

A change of location sets the scene for a second set of temptations: Antony moves from the outskirts of his village to the graves. ¹¹ At the graves, the attacks on Antony are depicted as extremely intense.

⁸ Brakke, Demons, 28.

⁹ Ibid., 28–30.

¹⁰ VA 6.

¹¹ VA 8-10; Brakke, Demons, 30-33.

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Demons appear as animals and Antony hardly seems able to survive their violence.¹² More dead than alive, he lies in a grave. He is transported back to his village and the villagers gather for a wake, as if he were dead. Antony, however, wakes up and wishes to be brought back to the desert. At this point, the hagiographical story evokes the image of Jesus Christ, who died and who was raised from the dead. Antony's age is mentioned—he is 35 years old. His age approximates the age traditionally attributed to Jesus at the time of his death.¹³

The next phase, as distinguished by Brakke, is characterized by a claim to victory which applies to the entire desert. ¹⁴ Place of action is a fort in the desert, which is a kind of temple and functions as a site of initiation. The struggle here lasts twenty years. ¹⁵ Much noise is heard, but Brakke states that the attacks are less violent when compared to those at the graves. ¹⁶

In this third phase Antony appears as a figure who has been initiated into the divine mysteries, and his body and soul demonstrate his new state of being. His body is perfect and shows no signs of change: it is as vital as it was in his younger years. It is neither too fat, nor too thin, but perfectly balanced. His soul is pure and his mood is unaffected by pleasure, laughter or sadness. His *logos*, or rather *the Logos*, guides him like a helmsman (κυβερνώμενος). Purified in this way, he is able to purge others from demonic infiltration. Brakke suggests that in this phase it becomes apparent that the pagan gods have lost their power. The saint has taken the place of the gods and has become himself a source of healing. 19

The three phases of demonic intervention which Brakke analyzes all concern the narrative parts of the *vita*. Apart from these narrative sections, demons also figure abundantly in Antony's long speech in chapters 16–43. In this speech Antony addresses his disciples and explains to them how they are to deal with demons. An important element is the issue of identification: the disciples are instructed to

¹² Ibid., 31.

¹³ VA 10.

¹⁴ Brakke, Demons, 33-35.

¹⁵ VA 12-14.

¹⁶ Brakke, Demons, 33.

¹⁷ While Bartelink calls this imagery Stoic (Bartelink, *Vie d'Antoine*, 175), Rubenson points to its Platonic antecedents (Rubenson, *The Letters*, 82).

 $^{^{18}}VA$ 14.

¹⁹ VA 12-14. Brakke, Demons, 36.

discover the demon's name. This process implies the important concept of diakrisis, discernment or discretio. Diakrisis is vital, for one cannot protect oneself against a demon as long as the identity of the demon remains uncertain.²⁰ Another, related issue is the fact that the fight against demons and the concomitant process of discernment are part of the attainment of purity or 'transparency' of the soul. In the vita, the growth process of the saint aims at transparency: he has to become completely translucent in order for the divine light, goodness, and power to shine through. The key term here is καθαρός, which was already implied when phase 3 was under discussion.²¹ It is this purity which leads to divine empowerment, which in turn enables the saint to demonstrate his powers of exorcism.²²

While Brakke's chapter on Antony discusses the long speech, he does not elaborate on the link between discernment and purity. Rather, he presents the speech of chapters 16–43 and the notion of diakrisis as a starting point for a Stoic interpretation. In order to make his point, he draws attention to the fact that in the Life of Antony demons are represented in a particularly external way. They appear from outside and take on different shapes and forms. The way in which they are described suggests that they can literally be seen and heard, which Brakke takes to be a sign of Stoic influence. He connects an external perspective on demonic intervention with aspects of Stoic philosophy, because the Stoa is a tradition of thought focusing on things 'that come from outside'. For this reason Brakke introduces the Stoic philosopher Epictetus, who is concerned with the issue of correct ethical judgement. For Epictetus, human beings are constantly confronted by impressions from outside and they have to ask themselves whether these impressions are representations of the good or the bad. Brakke sees a parallel between this type of Stoic judgement and the theme of diakrisis, or discernment, in the Life of Antony. In the vita, each case of demonic intervention calls for discernment by the ascetic: which demon occurs and what does it want? As in Stoic thinking, the hagiographical text about Antony also speaks of impressions from outside, which likewise have to be evaluated to come to an adequate behavioral

²⁰ Cf. VA 22.3 and 38.5.

 $^{^{21}}$ VA 14.4; 39.1; 60.11 ('pure': καθαρός) and 67.5 ('purity': καθαρότης). 22 For instance, in VA 14.5 the related term 'to purify', (καθαρίζειν) refers to exorcism. Cf. also Brakke, Demons, 36, 44 (exercise of exorcistic power).

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response. Thus, Brakke sees a link between Stoic philosophy and Antony's interaction with the demons.²³

In the context of his Stoic analogy, Brakke points to a major difference between Epictetus and the saint: while it is possible for the Stoic philosopher to be open-minded concerning the goodness or badness of impressions from outside, this option is not open to Antony. The aim of Stoic analysis is precisely to discover the ethical status of certain actions. In the case of Antony, however, the ethical status of suggestions by demons is always clear: they are negative. Demonic intervention leaves no room for an open mind. The demon is evil and appears with bad intentions. Therefore, while Epictetus's position towards external impressions is open and may eventually turn out to be either negative or positive, that of Antony leaves no room for doubt: the demon is always wrong.²⁴

Brakke's discussion of the Life of Antony contains valuable suggestions. Yet it also raises questions concerning the depiction of the saint's spiritual progress, as Brakke paints an ambiguous picture of Antony's development. First, he emphasizes the fact that demons do not play an essential role in the ascetic formation of the saint. At this point, he follows Rubenson who interprets Antony's spiritual activity as involving the static preservation of purity rather than a more dynamic process of development and growth, which could include setbacks.²⁵ Both Brakke and Rubenson focus on the maintenance of the status quo of a holiness already obtained, not on the achievement of something transformative, a new state of being. Brakke subsequently discusses the various phases of demonic activity in the early narrative chapters of the vita. One wonders how this elaborate discussion, especially when seen in conjunction with the title of the book (Demons and the Making of the Monk), relates to the claim that demons do not play a vital role in Antony's development or that Antony himself, for that matter, does not demonstrate any serious development. In Brakke's analysis demons seem to be of little importance and of much importance simultaneously. Thus, the reader is left to wonder whether demons occupy a central or a marginal position in the *Life of Antony*.

²³ Brakke, Demons, 39ff.

²⁴ Ibid., 39ff.

²⁵ Rubenson, The Letters, 135-137.

In addition, the contrast between spiritual stability, i.e., a predominantly static picture of the saint, and spiritual progress, i.e., a more dynamic view, has now become connected to the external depiction of the demons and the so-called Stoic framework which it suggests. Yet while Brakke believes that the depiction of Antony's soul should be read as primarily Stoic in character, it is surprising to note that Rubenson does not speak of a Stoic but of a Platonic view of the soul. Thus, while both authors agree on the lack of dynamic development in the *Life of Antony*, they have divergent views on the representation of the soul. I will return to both points—the absence or presence of dynamic development and the representation of the soul—in the following section on Antony's letters.

The Letters of Antony²⁶

Apart from drawing a comparison to the Stoa, Brakke also considers Antony's letters in connection with the theme of external and internal representations of demonic infiltration. He largely follows Samuel Rubenson whose important study about the letters of saint Antony was published in 1990. In *The Letters of St. Antony* various important issues are raised, such as the question of authorship. Rubenson also lays out the complex textual history of the letters which includes sources in many languages, such as Georgian, Coptic and Syriac. In what follows, I will quote several passages from letter 6 in Rubenson's English translation. In this text, in which demons are often mentioned, Antony can be seen to make the following statements about them:

Truly, my children, they are jealous of us at all times with their evil counsel, their secret persecution, their subtle malice, their spirits of seduction, their fraudulent thoughts, their faithlessness which they sow in our hearts every day, their hardness of heart and their numbness, the many sufferings they bring upon us at every hour, the weariness which causes our hearts to be weary at all times, all their wrath, the mutual slander which they teach us, our self-justifications in our deeds, and the condemnations which they sow in our hearts so that we, when we are alone, condemn our fellows, though they are not with us, the contempt

²⁶ Cf. W. Harmless, Desert Christians. An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 77–81.

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they send into our hearts through pride so that we become hard-hearted and despise one another $(...)^{27}$

In truth, my children, I tell you that every man who delights in his own desires, and who is subdued to his own thoughts and sticks to what is sown in his own heart and rejoices in it and thinks in his heart that it is some great chosen mystery and through it justifies himself in what he does, the soul of such a man is the breath of evil spirits and his counsel towards evil, and his body a store of evil mysteries which it hides in itself: and over such a one the demons have great power because he has not dishonored them before all men.²⁸

And if you seek, you will not find their sins and iniquities revealed bodily, for they are not visible bodily. But you should know that we are their bodies, and that our soul receives their wickedness, and when it has received them, then it reveals them through the body in which we dwell.²⁹

Or, who ever saw a demon fighting against us and preventing us from doing good, or opposing us, standing somewhere in the body, so that we should become afraid and flee from him? No, they are all hidden, and we reveal them by our deeds.³⁰

Therefore, let us raise up God in ourselves by spurring one another $(...)^{31}$

Truly, my children, I consider it not strange at all that, if you neglect yourselves and do not discern your works, you fall into the hands of the devil, and while you think you are close to God, and while you are expecting light, darkness overtakes you.³²

The above quotations from Antony's letter 6 demonstrate that demons can be seen as actors who play out their roles on the stage of the soul: vices and sins are the result of demonic infiltration. Unlike the Life, the letter repeatedly states that demons are invisible. The devil does not appear disguised as a human being, but he infiltrates the thoughts of the ascetic, thereby taking possession of his body. Thus, the image of the saint under attack in the letter is different from that in the *vita*. Rather than being portrayed as a stable figure, whose task it is to

²⁷ Letter 6.30-36 (Rubenson, The Letters, 218).

²⁸ Letter 6.46-48 (Rubenson, The Letters, 219).

²⁹ Letter 6.50-51 (Rubenson, The Letters, 219).

³⁰ Letter 6.55 (Rubenson, *The Letters*, 220).

³¹ Letter 6.66 (Rubenson, The Letters, 221).

³² Letter 6.107 (Rubenson, The Letters, 224).

simply stand tall in the face of demonic attack, he is subjected to an inner and difficult struggle which places him in a precarious position.

Both Brakke and Rubenson emphasize the difference in perspective which separates the Life from the letters. In accepting this view I do not, however, embrace Brakke's emphasis on a Stoic representation of the soul in Antony's *vita*. Before elaborating on this, let me introduce another author to whom Brakke refers in connection to the Stoic perspective, namely Michel René Barnes. Barnes also draws attention to Stoic elements in the *Vita Antonii*, but—surprisingly—he does not contrast the Life and the letters as Brakke does. Instead, he stresses the continuity between them.

In an article entitled 'Galen and Antony: Anger and Disclosure', ³³ Barnes also focuses on the Stoic idea of the unity of the soul. He relates this 'unity of the soul' to the medical concepts of 'wound' and 'doctor'. According to Barnes, both the Life and the letters work with an external perspective and he sees no Platonic notions of a 'part-based' soul whatsoever, as the soul knows no fissures. ³⁴

Barnes' analysis, however, appears to be largely based on an argument from silence: because Platonic notions of a part-based soul are seemingly—absent, the operative model of the soul in the letters must be Stoic. Barnes also gives a different interpretation of the two Platonic concepts mentioned by Rubenson, namely the division of the human in 'body, soul and mind' and the phrase 'the rational part of the soul':35 he sees the tripartite terminology as liturgical and takes the 'part-based' language to refer to 'the intellectual part of the soul' in a monistic, and therefore Stoic, sense.³⁶ This monistic interpretation of the soul, however, seems to me to be more assumed than demonstrated. Brakke proceeds in similar fashion when he states that notions of 'anger' and 'desire' are by no means Platonic, 37 even though Plato works with the combination of precisely these two concepts (thumos and epithumia). To my mind then, Platonizing interpretations are rejected too easily, the arguments for their exclusion carrying insufficient weight. Consequently, the Stoic readings seem largely a matter of personal preference.

³³ Barnes, 'Galen and Antony', 136-143.

³⁴ Ibid., 140-142.

³⁵ Rubenson, The Letters, 68-69, 73, 133.

³⁶ Barnes, 'Galen and Antony', 140-141.

³⁷ Brakke, Demons, 39.

As far as the demons are concerned, I want to make an additional comment about how Barnes and Brakke correlate their monistic account of the soul with the external machinations of the demons. Their conclusion is that because the demons originate from the outside, and by definition not from the inside, the soul *must be* unified, since no fissuring force wells up from within.³⁸ But this remains to be seen, however, for it seems entirely possible to correlate the external representation of demons to the internal workings of the soul, thereby allowing more space for the notion of 'internal conflict'.

Having surveyed the interpretations of Barnes and Brakke in general, I conclude that Brakke and Barnes agree on the importance of Stoic elements in the *vita*, but disagree on the extent to which the *vita* can be placed on a continuum with the letters. With a view to the respective positions of each, I largely follow Brakke concerning the contrast between the Life and the letters but concur with Barnes with regard to the signs of continuity. Yet rather than relating this continuity to the third letter of Antony with its medical imagery of wound and doctor, I see continuity in the depiction of the demonic. This theme is especially prevalent in Letter 6, which does not play a significant role in Barnes' reading. In addition, I nuance the stress on Stoicism.

Furthermore, both Rubenson and Brakke place emphasis on the fact that the Life and the letters offer divergent views of demons: external versus internal. However, I believe that the external representation of the demonic, as it occurs in the *vita*, has to be qualified. While Athanasius describes the demons in concrete external fashion, he also emphasizes the effect of these appearances on the inner life of the ascetic. The soul, which is the seat of all decision making, comes under siege when the demons arrive. Because Brakke highlights the external quality of the devil's temptations in the *vita*, he pays less attention to Antony's inner life. One particular passage in the *Life of Antony* paints a more nuanced picture. Mentioned by Brakke only in passing,³⁹ it presents a viewpoint which is far less external. In chapter 42 of the *Vita Antonii* the demons are described as follows:

For when they come, their actions correspond to the condition in which they find us; they pattern their phantasms after our thoughts. Should they find us frightened and distressed, immediately they attack like rob-

³⁹ Ibid., 44.

³⁸ Barnes, 'Galen and Antony', 140; Brakke, *Demons*, 39.

bers, having found the place unprotected. Whatever we are turning over in our minds, this—and more—is what they do. For if they see that we are fearful and terrified, they increase even more what is dreadful in the apparitions and threats, and the suffering soul is punished with these. However, should they discover us rejoicing in the Lord, thinking about the good things to come, contemplating things that have to do with the Lord, reflecting that all things are in the hand of the Lord, and that a demon has no strength against a Christian, nor has he any authority over anyone—then seeing the soul safeguarded by such thoughts, they are put to shame and turned away.⁴⁰

This citation suggests that demons are oriented towards the moods they observe in humans. Their tactic is directed against the soul of the ascetic. The demons are represented as beings that analyze the inner stirrings of their victims prior to their attack. Consequently, the inner and outer dimension are intricately linked. Thus, while it is true that the letters of Antony present an image of demonic infiltration that is predominantly internal, a similar situation occurs in the *vita*.

Although I agree with the observations by Brakke and Barnes regarding the contrast and continuity in the letters and the Life, I disagree with their choice to emphasize the Stoic nature of the texts at the expense of a more Platonic interpretation. In what follows, I will explore this point further and relate it to the representation of the saint's spiritual development. For it seems to me that the two issues are connected: an external interpretation of demonic activity implies a static view on the growth process of the saint.

In the work of Rubenson and Brakke the portrayal of demons in the *vita* is interpreted as an essentially external affair. The assault from the outside coincides with a depiction of the saint as a stable figure who displays holiness in a rather static way.⁴¹ Both authors underline how holiness is something previously achieved that only needs to be maintained, rather than a question of growth. On the one hand, I am willing to concede that the portrayal of Antony's spiritual development in the *vita* is rather static. This aspect of Antony is closely related to the fact that Athanasius portrays him as a channel of the *Logos*: the stability

⁴⁰ R.C. Gregg, Athanasius. The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus (London: Paulist Press, 1980), 63.

⁴¹ S. Rubenson, 'Philosophy and Simplicity. The Problem of Classical Education in Early Christian Biography,' in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, Th. Hägg and Ph. Rousseau, eds., (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2000), 110–139, there 115; Brakke, *Demons*, 37.

of the pure *Logos* is mirrored by the stability of the sinless saint.⁴² On the other hand, I believe that development plays an important role in the representation of Antony as a model of holiness. Without this development it would be very difficult for the envisaged readers to identify with Antony as a proper role model. Moreover, the introduction to the *vita* and its final chapter refer to the intended audience of the text as well as to the author's desire to make his readers imitate his hero's lifestyle. When we keep Athanasius' intended readership in mind, passages representing demonic activity in a less external way, like the one in chapter 42 quoted above, allow for a more nuanced view of demonic representation and, consequently, a more dynamic view of the saint's progress. The possibility of progress forges a necessary link between the ordinary reader, whose growth will be gradual, and the idealized heroic saint.

Another, literary, device which Athanasius employs to convey the notion of progress, is the fact that Antony actually moves from place to place, further and further away from the inhabited world, deeper and deeper into the desert. It is as if his physical mobility allows him to perfect his holiness and display his continuous spiritual growth.

Further support for a more dynamic view of the saint's development comes from the notions of *nous* and *logos* used by the author to describe his saint. In Athanasius' anthropology the terms *nous* and *logos* designate the highest rational faculty of a human being. This highest principle and the seat of a person's ability to connect with God strives to regain its original state: it has to become, once more, 'in line with nature' ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ φύσιν).⁴³ Although Barnes and Brakke interpret this term as Stoic,⁴⁴ it allows for a Platonic interpretation as well.⁴⁵ A closely related image is that of the *logos* acting like a helmsman, who has to make sure that the saint stays on course ($\kappa\nu\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nuo\varsigma$). While maintaining a pre-established course may at first conjure up the image

⁴² Brakke makes this point in his discussion of phase 3, which concerns the victory of the Logos over the demons, i.e., the pagan gods (Brakke, *Demons*, 33–34). While Brakke emphasizes the static character of phase 3, I would suggest that the passage of time in the desert which is mentioned—twenty years have passed—carries the connotation of development, even if that development is not explored in detail. See *VA* 12–14

 $^{^{43}}$ VA 14.4. In his edition, Bartelink interprets this phrase as Stoic (Bartelink, Vie d'Antoine, 175).

⁴⁴ Barnes, 'Galen and Antony', 140; Brakke, Demons, 38.

⁴⁵ Rubenson, *The Letters*, 73.

of a static scene, lending itself to Stoic interpretation,⁴⁶ the notion of the helmsman also implies the possibility of a loss of control which may affect not just the saint but also the intended reader. Although Rubenson generally takes a rather static view of Antony's spiritual life in the *vita*, he does point to the Platonic, and therefore more dynamic, origins of the 'helmsman'.⁴⁷

The aspect of dynamic and gradual growth is important because it creates a niche for the inward process of the saint. The temptations of the devil and his demons do indeed impact the saint internally. Evidently, the Antony of the *vita* is predominantly portrayed as someone who stands tall in the face of temptation: he remains on course. In this sense he represents an ideal and he is always one step ahead of those who tread in this footsteps. At the same time, however, it is vital that the temptations are real and not simply external. For if the saint's inner world is bypassed, it becomes difficult for the reader set on following his hero to stay connected to his own inner world and to experience spiritual progress.

EXCURSUS: STOICISM, DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNAL CONFLICT

At this point, I want to include one more voice: that of Christopher Gill's *The Structured Self in Hellenistic and Roman Thought*,⁴⁸ whose description of the Platonic part-based model of the soul fits the material from both the *Vita Antonii* and the letters of Antony.⁴⁹ I quote several passages to illustrate this:

One part—or better, aspect or dimension—of the psyche is specified as our core or what we ourselves ('really') are. This aspect is defined partly by the possession of a certain capacity (here, for knowledge or wisdom) and partly by the expression of a certain nature, such as divine or god-like nature. Sometimes, a reflexive relationship is involved, for instance, self-knowledge.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ For instance by Bartelink, Vie d'Antoine, 175.

⁴⁷ Rubenson, *The Letters*, 82, with a reference to Plato's *Phaedrus*: 247c.

⁴⁸ C. Gill, *The Structured Self in Hellenistic and Roman Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁴⁹ Gill, The Structured Self, 4-14.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 5.

The claim is that, 'in truth', the psyche consists only of the rational, cognitive dimension, and that the present polymorphous (tripartite) condition of the psyche is a product of its embodiment.⁵¹

The model of the human being implied in all these cases is that of the person as a—more or less unified—'combination' of body and psyche, or psychological functions, not a cohesive unit or whole.⁵²

In Gill's study the reader is made aware of the author's critique of the Platonic model as lacking cohesion and wholeness. Gill's preference for the Stoic model is determined by his preference for 'psychological and psychophysical holism'.⁵³ Gill summarizes the difference between the two models as follows:

One pattern aims to define what human beings are essentially or in their core, the other [focuses, NV] on what we are as psychophysical and psychological wholes.... A further difference lies in the understanding of more advanced or complex functions, such as gaining knowledge of truth. In the first view, these functions are, typically, allocated to the core of essence (for instance, 'mind' or 'reason') by contrast with the other parts (for instance, 'body' or the 'non-rational' part). In the second, 'holistic' view, gaining knowledge of truth is seen as a more advanced or complex function of the whole entity (...)⁵⁴

While Gill is open about his preference for the Stoic model, he also explains that the two traditions—Platonic and Stoic—are not completely discontinuous. In fact, large segments of the book are devoted to demonstrating their continuity.⁵⁵ In light of the aforementioned contributions by Barnes and Brakke, I want to make two observations. Firstly, both authors do not really address the issue of holism versus dualism. Their preference for a Stoic interpretation of the Antonian material does not include a discussion of the dualism, or dual character, of body and mind, which is implied by asceticism. In my opinion, this is problematic: emphasis on the tension between body and mind in asceticism would lead to a more Platonic interpretation. Secondly, these authors do not allow for continuity between Platonic and Stoic notions, which seems an important issue—not only because Platonism influenced Stoicism, as Gill explains, but also because Middle Pla-

⁵¹ Ibid., 5.

⁵² Ibid., 9.

⁵³ Ibid., 245.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁵ See, for instance, Gill, *The Structured Self*, 11-14, 29, 304-322.

tonism incorporated Stoic elements.⁵⁶ Thus, the lines that are drawn between Stoic and Platonic thought may not always be as hard and fast as they appear.

In addition, I want to discuss two further issues with relevance for monastic literature which I primarily associate with Platonic ideas while Gill connects them with the Stoic tradition. They concern the notions of development and internal conflict. So far, I have stressed the importance of these two notions for the interpretation of holy living and the role of demons. While in my view Platonic concepts offer better opportunities for interpreting the dynamics of development and the presence of internal conflict, Gill shows that—contrary to what the descriptions of the Stoa by Barnes and Brakke suggest—these concepts are not foreign to Stoic thought. In a section on the biographical—Platonically oriented—work of Plutarch,⁵⁷ Gill discusses the importance of 'development' and the various ways in which 'development', and 'decline' for that matter, may be depicted. Once more he makes his 'holistic' point:

In an alternative (Stoic-Epicurean) pattern, the formation of character is conceived as the realization of the (universal) natural capacity for perfection of character ('wisdom'). This involves the progressive development of the personality as a whole and not the shaping of independent (rational and non-rational) parts. For this pattern, as underlined earlier, all character-states which fall short of perfect wisdom are relatively incoherent and unstable, by comparison with the complete coherence and stability (and 'invulnerability') that is the mark of wisdom.⁵⁸

The state of 'complete coherence and stability (and 'invulnerability') that is the mark of wisdom' is—of course—the state that both Barnes and Brakke refer to when they discuss the state of saint Antony's character. This convergence of the Stoic model of the sage and the biographical stories about famous Christians fits with Gill's remark that such Stoic-Epicurean 'biography prefigures later religious lifenarratives, above all that of Augustine's *Confessions*, centred on conversion.'59

Still, in his analysis of Plutarch's Lives, Gill contrasts 'the Stoic theory of ethical development as appropriation (οἰκείωσις)' to 'the

⁵⁶ Cf. Rubenson, The Letters, 73.

⁵⁷ Gill, The Structured Self, 412-421.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 413-414.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 415.

unfolding narrative and specific events' of biography in the Platonic tradition. 60 According to Gill, Plutarch's biographies 'express both the idea that goodness of character depends on a combination of inborn nature, habituation, and reasoned choice, and also that it consists in the rational control of emotions and desires.'61 It is precisely this Platonizing account which, in my opinion, fits the Life of Antony rather well. The fact that Plutarch tends to describe 'negative development', i.e., 'great natures gone wrong', is less applicable to the vita. 62 Yet it does not disqualify the Platonic model of development per se, which is—among other things—characterized by the possibility of instability.⁶³ The matter is complicated, because adult character 'tends to remain unchanged throughout life.'64 Still, it is possible for a virtuous person to crumble under the pressure of problematic circumstances. 65 In such cases, 'lapses (...) represent the expression of a failure to develop—or to develop fully—the stability and coherence of character that depend on virtue.'66 Thus, the depiction of Stoic wisdom, once achieved, seems to be fundamentally more stable than that of Platonic wisdom. The latter may be lost.

The second issue I want to address concerns the notion of 'internal conflict'. Earlier in this contribution, I pointed out that a contrast exists between the external perspective, i.e., the Stoic orientation as presented by Barnes and Brakke, and the more internalized perspective of a Platonic interpretation. Gill, however, does not identify Stoicism and the 'external perspective' as strongly as Barnes and Brakke do. In his treatment of Senecan tragedy, Gill demonstrates that 'internal conflict' may very well be described within a Stoic framework. He suggests that Senecan tragedy is 'strongly informed by Chrysippean thinking about passion as internal conflict.'67 For reasons of space I will not explore this matter here further but only note that, according to Gill, 'surrender to passion generates internal conflict.'68 In his discussion of Chrysippus and the Stoic passions Gill explains how—

⁶⁰ Ibid., 414.

⁶¹ Ibid., 415.

⁶² Ibid., 415.

⁶³ Ibid., 413.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 416.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 418. 66 Ibid., 419.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 423.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 423.

rather counterintuitively—Stoic 'holistic' theory is compatible with the notion of internal conflict between judgements and/or passions.⁶⁹ He notes in addition that this issue may generate the criticism that 'Chrysippus' analysis of passion involves reference to a type of self-division which his unified psychological model cannot accommodate.'70 Gill's awareness of this problem also comes out in his discussion of Seneca's tragedy Medea. Having described Medea's intensely 'conflicted state',⁷¹ he asks the telling question: 'What conceptual framework among those current at the time, best explains the distinctive type of breakdown of character we find displayed in these examples?' Gill's intriguing conclusion is that because of its 'holistic' paradigm Stoic thinking better accommodates a 'radically internalized' motivation and a 'more intense and irrational' type of 'conflict'.72 The 'kind of madness' that arises in such cases is understood in the familiar terms of 'wound' or 'illness'.73 Gill states 'that only the wise person is psychologically coherent whereas all non-wise people are relatively incoherent and that all human beings are constitutively capable of developing towards (perfect) wisdom, whatever their current state of mind.'74 According to Gill, emotions in the Stoic model are 'states of the whole person which embody rational judgements', and any internal conflict occurs between a rational judgement and a 'primary ("irrational") passionate judgement that it is "appropriate" to feel anger or grieve or love in this situation.'75 Once more, Gill anticipates a question posed by an envisaged reader: "The "reason-frenzy" contrast in these lines might seem to express psychological dualism; what makes plausible a Stoic, rather than Middle Platonic, framework?'76 In the end, Gill opts for a Stoic perspective because the tragedy concerns the 'person as a whole', 77 and the inner conflicts described 'could be effectively explained in holistic psychological terms.^{'78}

⁶⁹ Ibid., 244–266. Cf. ibid., 250: '(...) Chrysippus' central claim that passions (which occur only in adult humans) are judgements (*kriseis*), and that they do not arise in an irrational (*alogon*) part of the psyche because there is no such part.'

⁷⁰ Ibid., 249.

⁷¹ Ibid., 427.

⁷² Ibid., 428.

⁷³ Ibid., 435; cf. Barnes, 'Galen and Antony', 141-142.

⁷⁴ Gill, The Structured Self, 431.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 431.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 432.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 432.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 433.

Thus, Gill addresses two significant issues when it comes to the reading of Antony's Life and his letters: development and internal conflict. Both concepts have a place in Stoic thinking and one does not have to resort to Platonic interpretation in order to account for them. Barnes and Brakke, however, do not discuss these notions, but rather enunciate the importance of the holistic/monistic model of the soul and the 'invulnerability' of the saint's stability. Both emphasize an external view of temptation and the role of demons.

While I admire Gill's challenging analyses of Platonic and Stoic philosophy, I still believe that a part-based model of the soul, rooted in the Platonic tradition so familiar to Antony himself, Athanasius, and their predecessor Origen, facilitates best the representation of inner conflict as suggested by the *vita* and the letters, which in turn allows for the notion of demonic infiltration. Within the context of a more Platonic approach, it also becomes possible to visualize a fissure in the soul. This motive of 'fissure' springs from a more dynamic view of demonic impact. From there it leads to a more dynamic interpretation of the saint's development, one which closely connects the disciple or reader to the saintly role model.

Besides Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa likewise seems to have understood the importance of such *imitatio*. In what follows, I will discuss one of his hagiographical works, the *Life of Macrina*. Subsequently, the voice of an *amma* from the desert, namely Syncletica, will be introduced as a counterpart to the literary representation of Macrina's experience of the demonic, of her own soul, and her spiritual development.

MACRINA AND SYNCLETICA: LIFE AND SAYINGS

The Life of Macrina

Circa 381 CE Gregory of Nyssa composed a *vita* about the life of his sister Macrina. In the introduction to this work he asserts that it is the result of a request by a third party. The name of this individual is not mentioned, but the aim of the narration is described as follows:

And so, since you were convinced that the story of her good deeds would be of some use because you thought that a life of this quality should not be forgotten for the future and that she who had raised herself through philosophy to the highest limit of human virtue should not pass along this way veiled and in silence, I thought it good to obey you and tell her story, as briefly as I could, in a simple, unaffected narrative.⁷⁹

In Gregory's mind it is important that his sister's life lives on in the lives of others. Her memory must have a positive influence on the spiritual development of later generations. Therefore, the brother paints an ideal picture of the saint in this hagiographical work. He seems to be aware, however, that creating an ideal picture may cause him to lose the reader. Apparently, he tries to prevent a situation in which the distance between the idealized role model and the envisaged disciple is too great. To enrich the static image of the ideal with the dynamic perspective of the learning process, Gregory inserts himself into the story, introducing himself as a character in the narrative of his sister's life.

The demons in Macrina's *vita* are found in scenes that are markedly different from those described in the Life of Antony. Although classic Antonian scenes of seduction are absent, the devil still functions as a powerful figure who tries to derail the saint. Macrina is portrayed in terms of an athlete who exhibits great stamina. 80 Unlike the temptations in Antony's Life, the methods which the devil employs to destabilize the saint are not primarily related to sex, money and a possible return to family and a familiar life. Instead, the central issue is the emotional threat of grief and mourning. By creating situations of painful loss, the devil aims at undermining the ascetic life of Macrina. A number of deaths are mentioned in the Life: Macrina's fiancé dies as well as her brother Naucratius. In the context of these losses Macrina emerges as a source of strength and balance, while Macrina's mother Emmelia is presented as her daughter's counterpart who continuously grieves and mourns. Like an athlete who has not yet learned the hardest lesson of how to stand tall in the face of adversity,81 Emmelia has not yet attained the saintly stature of her daughter.

Macrina's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, who is also the author of the *vita*, suffers from the loss of his family members as well, and he mentions his grief over the death of his brother Basil especially. Then, upon

⁷⁹ VM 1.24–31; K. Corrigan, *The Life of Saint Macrina by Gregory, the Bishop of Nyssa*, (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2005, first published by Peregrina Publishing Co. in 2001), 21.

⁸⁰ VM 14.27.

⁸¹ VM 9.14-21.

his arrival at the monastic settlement where Macrina lives, he learns that his sister is dying. The conversations that he subsequently shares with his wise and ascetic sibling demonstrate that he still has a lot to learn. The fact that he is easily overcome with emotion imperils the holy project of an ascetic lifestyle. Not surprisingly, the one death that dominates this *vita* is that of Macrina herself. It occurs halfway through the *vita*, which from a literary point of view is significant, since the death of a saint usually marks the end of a *vita*. In the *Life of Macrina*, Gregory devotes much literary space to the events that take place after the saint's death. He uses these to establish interpretations of Macrina's identity *post mortem*.⁸² In the context of this article, I will not elaborate on the issue of Macrina's identity but focus only on the devil's intervention, as demonstrated in the case of her death.

After Macrina has passed away, her female disciples are overcome with grief. The building resonates with wailing. In a sense, the women have lost their mother.⁸³ In the ensuing chaos Gregory takes it upon himself to recreate some form of order. For a moment, he too is overcome with emotion, but soon he regains control and focuses on the preparations for a dignified funeral.

Thus, lively descriptions of demonic attack, such as we find in the *Life of Antony*, are absent from this *vita*. The devil is active indeed, but mainly behind the scenes. He causes people to die. The grief this causes in those who are left behind may tear them away from their spiritual path. When we compare the two Lives, it becomes apparent that the *Life of Macrina* does not portray the devil in physical and visible terms. It does not highlight the external dimensions of temptation. Rather, emphasis is on the internal process that the faithful experience in their times of loss and grief. In those situations, the maintenance of internal balance is required, with *apatheia* functioning as the key word.⁸⁴

Gregory includes representations of both the static and the dynamic aspects of holiness in his *vita*. Thus, Macrina functions as an athlete who has fulfilled all the requirements of a heavy training programme. She represents the ideal ascetic who is able to resist the devil at times

 ⁸² Cf. G. Frank, 'Macrina's Scar. Homeric Allusion and Heroic Identity in Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Macrina,' Journal of Early Christian Studies 8,4 (2000) 511–530.
 ⁸³ VM 26.

⁸⁴ Cf. VM 22.29. This Stoic term is integrated into the otherwise Platonic framework of Gregory. See Maraval, *Vie de sainte Macrine*, 95, 215, n.2. The term is absent in the *Life of Antony*, but the concept is present, for instance in chapter 14.

of great emotional upheaval. At the same time, Gregory portrays himself as someone who is closer to the mere mortal—to the reader who may still lose his or her footing on account of death.

In my discussion of the *Life of Antony* I added sections of Antony's letters by way of contrast. This allowed me to contrast the predominantly external description of demons in the *vita* with quotations from Antony's sixth letter revealing a more internal approach. In similar fashion, I will bring to bear the direct voice of a desert mother, amma Syncletica, on Gregory's literary styling of his sister Macrina in the *vita*.

The Sayings of Syncletica

The sayings of Syncletica can be found in the collections of desert sayings which originated in the Egyptian desert from the fourth century onwards. As is the case with Antony's letters, their textual tradition is complex. The sayings were organized in different ways: alphabetically (based on the first letter of the names of the *abba's* and *amma's*) as well as thematically. As various collections came into being, they were transmitted in different regions, at different times, and in a variety of languages.⁸⁵ In his book on desert Christians, William Harmless points out that the term 'desert mother' can be misleading, as many ascetic women lived in urbanized areas.⁸⁶ With respect to Syncletica, Harmless includes a brief biographical account which is part of *The Life and Regimen of the Holy and Blessed Teacher Syncletica*.⁸⁷ He writes:

Syncletica was born in Alexandria, but her family was originally from Macedonia. Her parents tried to persuade her to get married, but at a young age she chose a life of asceticism and celibacy. After her parents died, she gave the family's holdings to the poor. She then cut off her hair and moved into a family tomb outside of Alexandria. In time, she attracted a number of disciples who supposedly recorded her sayings. She died in her eighties, apparently of cancer.⁸⁸

Harmless also remarks: 'There is no Egyptian equivalent to Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Macrina* that might allow us to see the progress of women's asceticism at closer range.'89 In his latest book, David Brakke

⁸⁵ Harmless, Desert Christians, 169-171, 183-190, 258-273.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 441-445.

⁸⁷ E. Bryson Bongie, *The Life and Regimen of the Blessed and Holy Syncletica, by Pseudo-Athanasius*, (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing Co., 1996).

⁸⁸ Harmless, Desert Christians, 442.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 444.

also discusses the *Life of Syncletica*, 90 but at this point I will cite only two of Syncletica's 26 sayings, rather than analyze the biographical material, since the sayings represent the voice of an ascetic woman in a more direct way. Saying 24 attributed to Syncletica in the alphabetical collection of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* reads as follows:

She also said: 'We must arm ourselves in every way against the demons. For they attack us from outside, and they also stir us up from within; and the soul is then like a ship when great waves break over it, and at the same time it sinks because the hold is too full. We are just like that: we lose as much by the exterior faults we commit as by the thoughts inside us. So we must watch for the attacks of men that come from outside us, and also repel the interior onslaughts of our thoughts.'91

In this saying, a connection is made between attacks from without and those from within. The demons intervene both externally and internally. They act on the double stage of both behaviour and thoughts. Syncletica connects the external dimension to the world of social interaction, speaking of wrongful deeds that individuals commit when they are spurred on by third parties. The internal dimension is related to bad thoughts and is suggestive of a soul that is impure.

Syncletica does not distinguish between demons that operate externally and thoughts that govern the inner world. Rather, demonic activity is always an issue, both on the inside and on the outside. In both cases, the ways in which the ascetic thinks and acts are at stake. In the end, the ascetic decides: will he or she stand tall or give in? In this sense, demons always play a secondary role. They can suggest sinful modes of thinking and acting, but the capacity to decide lies with the ascetic. Which path will be followed is determined within the soul. Syncletica continues in Saying 25:

Here below we are not exempt from temptations. For Scripture says, 'Let him who thinks that he stands, take heed lest he fall.' (1 Corinthians 10:12) We sail on in darkness. The psalmist calls our life a sea and the sea is either full of rocks, or very rough, or else it is calm. We are like those who sail on a calm sea, and seculars are those on a rough sea. We always set our course by the sun of justice, but it can often happen that the secular is saved in tempest and darkness, for he keeps watch as he ought, while we go to the bottom through negligence, although we are on a calm sea, because we have let go of the guidance of justice.⁹²

⁹⁰ Brakke, *Demons*, 188-193.

⁹¹ Ward, Sayings, 234-235.

⁹² Ward, Sayings, 235.

The image of the ship that has to stay on course is a powerful representation of the ascetic life. It allows room for both the maintenance of stability and the dynamic aspect of struggle and development. The ascetic wants to live in peace, but that peace is constantly disrupted by demonic intervention. The ship that sails on a calm sea is not necessarily safe. The situation may become precarious: is the ascetic able to stay on course? Or does the ship sink to the bottom of the sea, because it has lost sight of the sun of justice, i.e., Christ himself? The imagery in this saving of Syncletica resonates with the image of the helmsman mentioned earlier. It encapsulates the tension between stability and turmoil. It suggests the constant risks to which the ascetic is exposed. Like Antony in his letter 6, Syncletica warns against a false sense of security. The ascetic is in no way exempt from temptation. Compared to the stormy life of his brothers and sisters in the world, he may think he sails on a calm sea, but he is just as vulnerable to the attacks of the devil and his demons. His situation of apparent calm can easily dissolve into chaos, if he is unattentive. Seen in this way, Syncletica's saying represents a dynamic image of the inner world of the ascetic, as she makes clear how the regeneration of internal balance is a continuous process.

Conclusion

What can be concluded concerning the representation of demons in the sources under discussion? First, a discrepancy seems to exist between the comment made by David Brakke that demons are not an essential ingredient of the story about Antony's ascetic formation and the demons' actual multiplicity in the vita. Above, I have emphasized that the story of the saint cannot be told without the appearance of demons. From a theological standpoint they are an essential part of the Christian story because they act as personifications of evil: they represent the power of sin which at the beginning of human history caused the fall. Subsequently, these sinful figures have constantly tried to undermine God's plans for humanity. Demonic intervention is darkness trying to overcome the light. But without the powers of darkness it is impossible for the story about the victory of light to be told. In this sense, the theological significance of the demons implies a kind of literary necessity: without the devil and his demons the story about the saint is boring. Without the suffering of the ascetic the achievement of purity and humility is an all too easy task. The path that leads to the goal and the battle between light and darkness—these are ingredients

designed to catch the attention of the reader. They enable the audience to identify with the saint and to imitate the life of holiness. In the Lives of saints, which depict saints as figures of complete holiness, an extra role model is sometimes introduced to aid in the process of identification. This figure exemplifies how the attainment of holiness is a matter of growth and development. In his *Life of Macrina*, Gregory of Nyssa introduces himself in that capacity: he becomes the character that illustrates the dynamic nature of the ascetic enterprise.

The extent to which the inner struggles of the ascetic become visible and, consequently, the extent to which the demonic dynamizes this struggle may vary. In the letters of Antony this aspect of dynamization clearly comes to the fore. Interestingly, it is not so much a case of demons impersonating monks as it is of monks becoming infiltrated by demons. Compared to the *vitae*, the sayings and the letters pay more attention to the internal processes in the souls of desert fathers and mothers.

When we consider the representations of demons in these texts, the mere identification of the external and the internal dimensions, as suggested by Brown and Burton-Christie, seems to be problematic. But the separation of these perspectives in the interpretations of Rubenson, Barnes and Brakke raises questions as well. Early Christian authors seem to be rather flexible. They focus on both the outer and inner aspects of evil, thereby suggesting that they are inextricably linked. With a view to the demonic, the Platonic account of the soul seems to work best, providing adequate room for the important notions of development and internal conflict.

From a Christian standpoint, the drama of salvation history circles around the battle between good and evil. This basic scenario includes the problem of sin and the final victory over it. Time and again stories are told about the gift of salvation, the choice for what is right, and resurrection after death. In this context Syncletica speaks of the 'course' of 'the sun of justice'. Without darkness attacking light, the story of the battle cannot be told. This is why the devil and his demons are such necessary characters in the Lives of saints, which portray the process of finding redemption in Christ. It explains also why they do not fail to appear in monastic letters and sayings. Thus, from both a literary and a theological perspective, the full dynamics of light cannot be painted without drawing on the shadow of the demons.

DEMONS AMONG THE MESSALIANS

Boudewijn Dehandschutter

Introduction

Those who have studied the 'Messalians' know that it is almost impossible to give a really satisfactory description of a complete corpus of texts which would allow us to study Messalian 'doctrine', and to arrive at a description of the role of the demon or demons in this doctrine. In the context of this contribution we can only situate the problem in general terms and shall have to make a clear decision about our sources (1). On the basis of this decision we shall summarise the role of the demon(s) (2), and finally, we shall attempt to investigate the origin of this doctrine (3).

THE SOURCES

Research on the Messalians has involved more than one individual ascetic text or text corpora. Best known are the Pseudo-Macariana,¹ but apart from them one could also refer to the *Acts of Philip*, or the Syriac *Liber Graduum*. When M. Kmosko published the text of the latter writing, he prefaced it by a long introduction including a collection of sources which might be considered 'Messalian'. It is plain that Kmosko situated the *Liber Graduum* within the history of the Messalian movement, but today not everybody would want to agree with that judgement.² One could also dispute the *Acta Philippi* in this

¹ A fair introduction to this corpus has been given by E.A. Davids, *Das Bild vom Neuen Menschen. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Corpus Macarianum* (Salzburg-München: Pustet, 1968).

² M. Kmosko, *Liber Graduum*, PS III (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1926), CXV-CXLIX. See further on the *Liber Graduum*: R.A. Kitchen, 'The Gattung of the Liber Graduum. Implications for a Sociology of Asceticism,' in *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984. Literary Genres in Syriac Literature*, OCA 229, ed. H.W.J. Drijvers et al. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientale, 1987), 173–182; A. Böhlig, 'Zur Rhetorik im Liber Graduum,' *ibid.*, 297–305; L. Wickham, 'Teachings about God and Christ in the Liber Graduum,' in *Logos. Festschrift für Luise Abramowski* (BZNW 67), ed. H.C. Brennecke, E.L. Grasmück and C. Markschies (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993), 486–498.

regard. E. Peterson brought forward a hypothesis which is no longer followed by scholars. But the main problem exists with regard to the Pseudo-Macariana.³ The very thorough study of K. Fitschen no doubt can be considered a landmark, but we nevertheless remain reluctant to combine the history of transmission of the pseudo-Macarian texts and that of the Messalian movement as historically documented.⁵ Questions are obviously focussed on the early stages of transmission: are these to be found on the side of the background of the pseudo-Macariana, i.e., a Messalian Asceticon, or are we to reconstruct the (lost) concern about the Messalian movement from the side of Amphilochius of Iconium? This is a dilemma difficult to resolve, even if we approach the matter in a chronological fashion, in so far as it is possible to do so. This approach means in the first place that we cannot do much with Ephrem Syrus. He refers to the Messalian heresy, but without much comment on its contents. 6 If the *Hymns against Heresy* are Edessenian hymns, we are allowed to speak about a date of 363–373. Epiphanius of Salamis does not help us any further: his treatment of the Messalians, a late contemporary heresy (= ca. 376) describes a number of ascetic practices, but it remains difficult to characterise them as 'Messalian'. However, Epiphanius certainly illustrates the tendency to mark everything which is ascetic but deviant or unwanted, read 'apotactic', as 'Messalian'.8 This is only a beginning. Moreover, the difficulty

³ E. Peterson, 'Die Häretiker der Philippus-Akten,' ZNW 31 (1932) 97-111.

⁴ K. Fitschen, Messalianismus und Antimessalianismus. Ein Beispiel ostkirchlicher Ketzergeschichte, FKDG 71 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); K. Fitschen, Pseudo-Makarius. Reden und Briefe, BGL 52 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2000).

⁵ We must skip here the precarious problem of the Macariana in the Syriac tradition, cf. W. Strothmann, 'Makarios und die Makariosschriften in der syrischen Literatur,' Oriens Christianus 54 (1970) 96–105 and W. Strothmann, Die syrische Überlieferung der Schriften des Makarios T. 1 Syrischer Text. T. 2: Übersetzung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981).

⁶ Hymni Contra Haereses XXII.4: '(Er (der Gütige) verstiess)...die Messalianer wegen ihrer Ausschweifungen'; translation by E. Beck, Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen contra Haereses, CSCO 170 (Louvain: Durbecq, 1957), 78.

⁷ I.e., to be dated during Ephrem's stay in Edessa, which lasted from 363–373, cf. S. Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, (Kottayam, Kerala: SEERI, 1997), 27.

⁸ It may be that his information is oral, cf. F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 629. However, the heresiologist's information does not refer to demons or the like. It cannot even be said that the words at the end of 80.3.5 about the foolishness of the 'messalians' implies any hint of their 'Enthusiasm' as 'Einwirkung des heiligen Geistes', a remark borrowed by Williams (*The Panarion*, 631) from 'Lietzmann', which is obviously an error for 'Holl' (namely, the latter's GCS edition, cf. 487).

remains whether the reaction of Gregory of Nyssa (in his *De instituto christiano*) on the so-called *Epistula magna* (the Messalian monastic rule) implies the reaction to a real Messalian 'Grundschrift', or not.⁹

Otherwise, scholarship is divided on the issue of giving the Messalian movement a large or narrow 'definition'. Thus some would find it documented as early as Basil's letters, namely the 'canonical' letters he wrote to Amphilochius (from 373 on), in which he reacts against exaggerated encratite praxis, but tries to remain positive over against 'enthusiasm', in order not to condemn it as heretical. In our view, it is possible to safely trace historical material only by reading Theodoret of Cyrus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV 11. This is a source to be dated 449–450 CE, preceding later documents, often referred to as those by Timothy of Constantinople (ca. 600) or John of Damascus (650–754), in recognition of the fact that these later sources in their summary of Messalian doctrines may be relying on an earlier source, a (Messalian) 'Asceticon'. It is preferable now to refer for the 'technical' discussion about this to K. Fitschen, and to turn for the moment to Theodoret's story in *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV 11.

⁹ See among others: W. Jaeger, Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius (Leiden: Brill, 1954); R. Staats, Gregor von Nyssa und die Messalianer. Die Frage der Priorität zweier altkirchlicher Schriften, PTS 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968); W. Jaeger, 'Messalianism and Antimessalianism in Gregory of Nyssa's De Virginitate,' Patristic and Byzantine Review 2 (1983), 27–44; W. Jaeger, 'Messalianerforschung und Ostkirchenkunde,' in Makarios-Symposium über das Böse, ed. W. Strothmann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 47–71; R. Staats, Makarios-Symeon. Epistola magna. Eine messalianische Mönchregel und ihre Umschrift in Gregors von Nyssa "De Instituto christiano" (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984); S.K. Burns, 'Pseudo-Macarius and the Messalians: the Use of Time for the Common Good,' in The Use and Abuse of Time in Christian History, ed. R.N. Swanson, (Woodbridge: Blackwell, 2002), 1–12.

¹⁰ See R. Staats, 'Beobachtungen zur Definition und zur Chronologie des Messalianismus,' JÖB 32 (1982) 235–244.

¹¹ So B. Gain maintains that Basil was not too negative over against the Eustathian movement which might have been affected by Messalianism, cf. B. Gain, *L'église de Cappadoce au IV^e siècle d'après la correspondence de Basile de Césarée*, OCA 225 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientale, 1985), 370.

¹² Cf. C. Stewart, 'New Perspectives on the Messalian Controversy,' in *Studia Patristica* 19 (Historica, Theologica, Gnostica, Biblica et Apocrypha), ed. E.A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 243–249. For reasons of clarity, we refrain from comparing the information of Theodoret, *Haereticorum fabularum compendium*, IV.11(PG 83, 429–432) and refer for this to Fitschen, see the following note.

¹³ K. Fitschen, *Messalianismus*, 25ff; cf. 61: "Theodoret lag das ASKETIKON nicht vor. Unter seinen Quellen sind hochstwahrscheinlich die HYPOMNEMATA Flavians und die des Amphilochius...".

THE ROLE OF THE DEMONS

Theodoret tells the story of the heresy of the Messalians rising at the time of Valens (ca. 375) in ch. 10 of book IV. He gives an explanation of the term, enumerates the leaders of the movement, and refers briefly to the reaction of the orthodox bishops of that period: Letoius of Melitene, Amphilochius of Iconium and Flavianus of Antioch. Flavianus was the one who could extract from an old Messalian leader, Adelphius, the information about their heretical views:¹⁴

The elderly man, won over by these words, gave vent to all his secret venom, for he said that no benefit accrues to the recipients of holy baptism, and that it is only by earnest prayer that the indwelling demon is driven out, for that every one born into the world derives from his first father slavery to the demons just as does his nature. But that when these are driven away by earnest prayer, then comes the Holy Ghost giving sensible and visible signs of his presence, at once freeing the body from the impulse of the passions and wholly ridding the soul of its inclination to the worse; with the result that there is no more need for fasting that restrains the body, nor of teaching or training that bridles it and instructs it how to walk aright. And not only is the one who receives this liberated from the wanton motions of the body, but also clearly foresees things to come, and with the eyes beholds the Holy Trinity.

It goes beyond the scope of this contribution to analyse this passage in detail; what concerns us is precisely the statement about the 'indwelling' demon, present in man by nature itself, and only to be thrown out by earnest prayer. It is this idea of indwelling, ἐνοικεῖν, that seems to us to be crucial, as it differentiates the Messalian position from the pseudo-Macarian description of the presence of an evil spirit in humanity after the fall of Adam, and its struggle with the good spirit. Theodoret, also in the *Haereticorum fabularum compendium*, maintains that the Messalian position is about an indwelling demon from birth, to be driven out only by prayer. This same position is repeated by Timothy of Constantinople (ca. 600) in his *De receptione haereticorum*, ¹⁵ as well as by John of Damascus. In the latter case, however, we find the reference

¹⁴ Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. L. Parmentier, *Kirchengeschichte*, GCS 19 (Leipzig: Hinrichs Verlag, 1911) and ed. G.C. Hansen, GCS neue Folge 5 (third revised edition; Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1998), 229–231. The editor refers already in 1911 as a source of this passage to letters of Letoius and 'Hypomnèmata' of Amphilochius: see GCS nF 5, 229!

¹⁵ PG 86, cols. 45-52.

to a book of the Messalians, probably an 'Asceticon', as well as some confusion in the information. On the one hand, it is Satan who dwells inside humanity (ἐνοικεῖ), on the other it is the demons who captivate the human spirit . It must be assumed that John combines more than one source of information, not only Theodoret's writing and possibly an Asceticon, but also another source more difficult to identify. With John we are again a century later than Timothy, and with Timothy a century and a half later than Theodoret.

As has been said, our preference goes to Theodoret. One might add that if Theodoret had access to an early source, this would be as early as the most ancient layer of the pseudo-Macarian texts.¹⁷ But the question is how to differentiate between the Macarian and the Messalian doctrine. In our view, with all their similarities, it has to be observed that the pseudo-Macarius starts from the idea of everlasting spiritual struggle, the result of Adam's transgression. Adam's fall makes the soul lose its quality as the image of God; it can gain this back, but the struggle consists in the competition of two spirits, two powers, the good one present in humanity by nature, and the evil one introduced by Adam's failure. The pseudo-Macarius thus does not deny the work of the (good) spirit, and even less the importance of prayer as power and way to perfection, stimulating the virtues in their battle with the vices, but also continues to insist on the presence of sin and the necessity of spiritual battle. It is not surprising that one can find in the pseudo-Macarius ideas which seem directly borrowed from Basil's

¹⁶ Cf. the edition of B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. IV. Liber de haeresibus. Opera polemica*, PTS 22 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981, 41–48 (80th heresy); cf. also for references about sources in John, F.H. Chase, S. *John of Damascus. Writings* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1958), 131–137. For an analysis of the sources see again C. Stewart, 'Working the Earth of the Heart'. The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts and Language to AD 431, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

¹⁷ It is inevitable to make here a further observation about Amphilochius' writings. Among the 'Amphilochiana' edited by G. Ficker, one can find an incomplete work, commonly entitled *De haeresibus*, devoted to the refutation of radical ascetics of that period (known also from Basil's letters to Amphilochius of Iconium). It is not evident that this *De haeresibus* turned itself against the Messalians. Theodoret mentions 'Hypomnèmata' of Amphilochius in the *Haereticorum fabularum compendium* (and not a writing 'against the heresies'). We are undecided as to the question whether these 'Hypomnèmata' refer to acts of a synod presided by Amphilochius in Side (ca. 390 ?), against the Messalians (as reported by Photius, *Bibliotheca* 52). O. Bardenhewer still wanted to identify them, but the information about the 'Hypomnèmata' disappeared from scholarly literature until Fitschen took up the information. However, one would have to date Amphilochius' activities against the Messalians after 381 AD.

De Spiritu Sancto, more precisely the ninth chapter, and which at the same time are reminiscent of the Messalian concepts betrayed by Adelphius regarding the influence of the Spirit in humanity. The text of Basil circulated among the pseudo-Macarian 'circles', but does this signify a 'Beliebtheit in messalianischen Kreisen'?¹⁸ All the similarities cannot hide a fundamental difference in background, as well as in anthropology. Thus it seems not sufficient to summarise the problem in the sense of H. Dörries, 'Zum Problem des Enthusiasmus in der spätantiken Reichskirche'.¹⁹ In our view it is the anthropological background of Messalianism that needs to be investigated.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE DEMONIC

Returning once again to Theodoret's information, it concerns the 'indwelling' demon, present in everyone born as a result of a common inheritance from Adam. And this indwelling is οὐσιωδῶς, according to Timothy of Constantinople.²⁰ All this may remind us of some Gnostic texts about the creation of man, or better the attempt of creation. We find a remarkable example in Hippolytus' *Refutatio*. His summary of the Valentinian doctrine of creation indicates that the demiurge makes humanity from body and soul, a body taken from the material 'diabolic' earth, which makes man a dwelling place of the soul, or of the soul and demons, or of the soul and the *logoi* (Ref. VI 34).²¹ The latter case is of course the best one! But what this indicates is a Gnostic reading of Genesis 2:7, according to which the materiality of the body is connected with the demonic, that is, that the psychic man (the demiurge is not able to do better) dwells in a body that is earthly, material and corruptible, formed from the diabolic ousia (τελείως ἐκ τῆς διαβολικῆς οὐσίας πεπλασμένος). It is possible to observe here a shift compared to earlier sources on Valentinian Gnosis, such as Irenaeus, or Clement of Alexandria, Excerpta ex Theodoto. In Irenaeus'

¹⁸ R. Staats, 'Beobachtungen zur Definition'.

¹⁹ H. Dörries, 'Die Messalianer im Zeugnis ihrer Bestreiter. Zum Problem des Enthusiasmus in der spätantiken Reichskirche,' *Saeculum* 21 (1970) 213–227; 'Enthusiasm' in the sense of anti-hierarchical and/or anti-institutional movements, with their emphasis on the action of the Spirit etc.

^{2ô} C. Stewart emphasised the 'strength' of this terminology: C. Stewart, 'Working the Earth of the Heart', 59.

²¹ Hippolytus. Refutatio omnium haeresium, PTS 25, ed. M. Marcovich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986), 247.

discussion about Ptolemy (*Adv. haer.* I 5.4–5),²² it is indicated that the material substance available to the demiurge consists of three passions: *timor, tristitia* and *aporia*, and that from *tristitia* the spirits of evil, the devil, the demons and the evil spiritual substance, come into existence. Neither Irenaeus nor the *Excerpta* mention an immediate presence of the demonic at the moment of creation of humanity, as is the case in the 'later' perception of Hippolytus.

Even more complicated is the story of the *Apocryphon Johannis*, in the long recension (Nag Hammadi Codices [NHC] II.1; IV.1 partially), and more precisely in the so-called 'grosse Einschub' present in that long recension.²³ It is known that the *Apocryphon* develops a complicated anthropogony containing the stoic doctrine of the 'affections' in combination with the presence of demonic forces in mankind: the latter in its materiality is guided by the 'demon' of lust, desire, regret and fear. This seems very theoretical, but according to the text, there is a collaboration between the different angels, or *archontes*, or *dèmiourgoi*, and these demons construct the 'psychic' man.

The point is that we can discover in these early Christian texts, although they contain a complex mythology, an idea about the creation of man, directly related to the (co-)operation of demonic 'powers'. This does not concern an influence on the created humanity *post factum*, which, in consequence of a 'fall', becomes extremely sensitive to the influence of evil; Evil ('and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from the *poneiros*': Matthew 6:13) is envisaged as demonic presence in the human being *due to* his creation, a presence in the created Adam from the very beginning.

It is not our purpose to connect the contents of these Gnostic texts, those quoted and other ones, directly with the Messalian statements found in Theodoret. What we want to point to is that there exists a concept of the creation of man which is less positive, i.e., which is not directly transferable to God's creation—as in the Genesis story—, i.e., a creation *subsequently* compromised by man in paradise. The 'Gnostic' concept puts the creation directly in the hands of a demiurge; and

²² Cf. Irenaeus of Lyon, *Adversus haereses* I, ed. A. Rousseau-L. Doutreleau, *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies. Livre I*, SC 264, (Paris: Cerf, 1979), 82–88.

²³ For reasons of brevity we just refer to the synoptic edition of M. Waldstein-F. Wisse, *The Apocryphon of John. Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,1; III,1; and IV,12 with BG 8502,2*, NHMS 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 109; 111. For the 'grosse Einschub', see also T. Onuki, *Gnosis und Stoa. Eine Untersuchung zum Apokryphon des Johannes*, NTOA 9 (Freiburg-Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989).

it is this fact that explains the action of the passions and the inclination to evil. This kind of anthropology might have been assimilated by the early Messalian movement.²⁴

While preparing this contribution, we encountered the new book by P. Busch on the *Testament of Solomon*, ²⁵ carrying a subtitle: 'Die älteste christliche Dämonologie'. The author refers to this text as also reflecting a strong connection between the doctrine of affects and demonology, as a consequence of what, in his view, was already present in Clement of Alexandria's interpretation of Ephesians 6:12 ('For it is not against human enemies that we have to struggle, but against the sovereignties and the powers who originate the darkness in this world...'), and also is taken over in a Gnostic text, such as On the Origin of the World (NHC II.5) as 'demonologisation' of the affections. NHC II.5 refers as a source to a 'Book of Solomon'. According to Busch, this text would be independent from what Irenaeus, Adv. haer. I 29.4, reports about the origin of the affections, but there might be a connection between the Testament of Solomon and NHC II.5.26 However, Busch could have done better by insisting more on the Apocryphon of John. He refers to this well known Gnostic writing only in connection with the very complicated Egyptian presentation of the dekanoi and its connection with the anthropology of *Apocryphon*.²⁷ But he misses the point made by T. Onuki in his book Gnosis und Stoa about the passage in the Apocryphon as demonologisation of the affections.²⁸

Conclusion

Summarising our findings, based upon one of the earliest clear testimonies about the Messalian movement, Theodoret's story about it and especially about Adelphius' doctrine, we think there can be found a solution to the question of a demon, or demons, in man, by the hypothesis of an anthropology which 'connects' demons and affections, such as it is known to us through Gnostic texts. Even leaving

²⁴ And this would explain also that in the text of Theodoret it is the Holy Spirit who chases the demons which are responsible for the evil inclinations.

²⁵ P. Busch, Das Testament Salomos. Die älteste christliche Dämonologie, kommentiert und in deutscher Erstübersetzung, TU 153 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006).

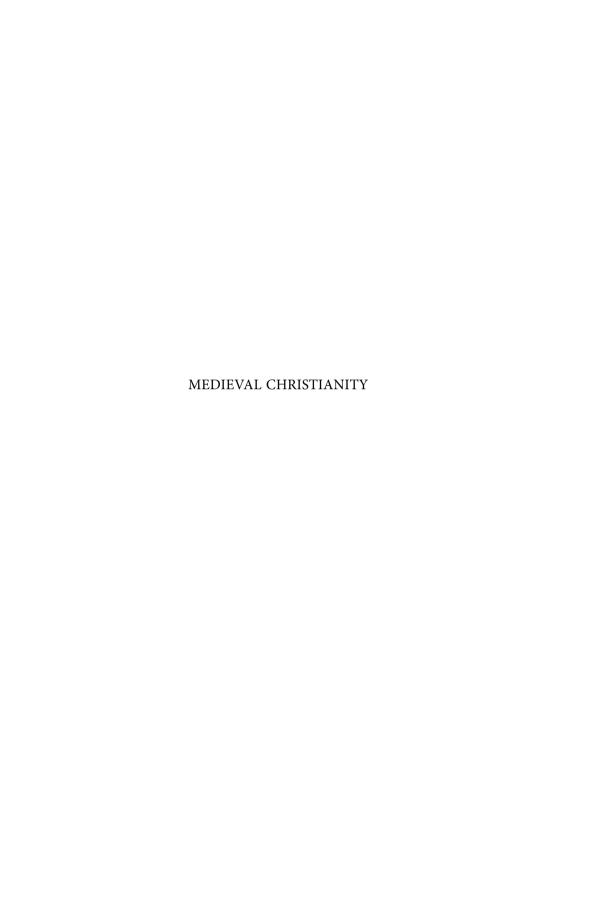
²⁶ P. Busch, Das Testament Salomos, 151-153.

²⁷ Ibid., 239-240.

²⁸ T. Onuki, Gnosis und Stoa, 9-54.

the doctrine of affects in the margin, we find at least in Gnostic sources a strong emphasis on the creation of man as 'archontic' creation (cf. also the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, NHC II.4), which is corrected from the 'outside' by a 'pneumatic' influence. This 'negative' approach does not offer a point of comparison with the theme of spiritual struggle as we find it in the pseudo-Macariana, or in the 're-reading' of the *Epistula magna* by Gregory of Nyssa.²⁹ The latter continues to stress the importance of spiritual leadership and guidance. The source of Theodoret, on the contrary, makes us aware of the fact that according to Adelphius, after the descent of the Holy Spirit, fasting nor whatever spiritual training or instruction is necessary: the Messalian is the pneumatic *par excellence*.

²⁹ Cf. again J. Gribomont, 'Le De Instituto Christiano et le Messalianisme de Grégoire de Nysse,' in *Studia Patristica* 5, TU 80, ed. F.L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 312–322.



DENOMINATIONS OF THE DEVIL AND DEMONS IN THE MISSALE GOTHICUM

Gerard Bartelink

Introduction

The detailed and rich linguistic and liturgical dissertation Els Rose devoted to the *Missale Gothicum* (*Miss. Goth.*) has drawn special attention to this *sacramentarium* that was written in north-eastern Gaul about 700 (probably in Luxueil), the more so as this study is accompanied by a new edition based on the only extant manuscript (Vat. reg. lat. 317).¹

In this article we offer an inventory of the denominations of the devil and demons in this *Missale*, proposing to discuss them in their context. It is well-known that the *sacramentaria* and related liturgical books contain interesting materials in this field. The terminological variety is clearly illustrated in the texts presented by Blaise.²

As in the other sacramentaries in the Miss. Goth. the protection of God against the powers of darkness and his defence against evil is implored. Particularly at Easter, in the Easter week and on the feast of the Holy Cross the final victory of Christ over the devil and the demons is commemorated. On the feast of a martyr it is emphasized that he fought successfully against the devil. In the Easter liturgy in the Miss. Goth. the following passages can be noted: daemones/diabulus (= diabolus, 249); exorcism of the baptismal water on the Eve of Easter (258); nox in qua diabulus occubuit (270); malicia diabuli/invidus inimicus (306); animarum devoratorem extinctum leonem diabulum (311); ab...inimici tutans insidiis (312); peccata, quem (= quae)

¹ Missale Gothicum, ed. E. Rose, CCSL 159D (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); based on Els Rose, Communitas in commemoratione. Liturgisch Latijn en liturgische gedachtenis in het Missale Gothicum (Vat. reg. lat. 317), (doctoral thesis; Utrecht, 2001). References are to the prayer numbers.

² A. Blaise, Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966). Cf. also A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954).

diabulus adinvenit (313); de inimico tyranno triumphaturus (316); et diabulum triumphavit (317).

In early Christian texts martyrdom has often been realistically described as a struggle against the devil, through which the martyr obtains the crown of martyrdom. Clear traces can be found in the Miss. Goth., as can be seen in the following texts: Ut diabolum, qui per Evam humanum genus omne subverterat, tenera aetate Agnes contereret et sexu inbecile (= -i) superaret, veritatis confessione prosterneret (107); et de triumpho nobili coronam dedit (sc. Andreae apostolo, 130); (Mary and the martyr Eulalia are contrasted to each other): illa crededit angelo, ista restetit inimico, illa electa, per quam nasceretur Christus, ista per quam vinceretur diabolus (138); (feast of the holy Sixtus) hii, qui se tuae testes offerunt veritatis, inimicum, dum occiduntur, occidunt (393); (Missa martyrum) de persecutoribus tuis (= suis) et diabulo triumpharunt (456); (Missa martyrum) sicut martyres tui ad bradium (= brabium) supernae vocationis tetenderunt, ita nos superato hoste victoriam consequamur (460).³

ELEMENTS OF SPEECH

When we survey the texts in which the devil and the evil spirits are mentioned in the *Missale Gothicum*, the use of various elements of speech immediately catches the eye, such as antitheses used to set off the frequent contrast between good and evil. The death of Christ on the cross that brought redemption to mankind is opposed to the fall of our first ancestors, caused by the serpent in paradise (318). The corporal circumcision of Christ (*carnalis circumcisio*) is deliberately opposed to the spiritual powers of darkness (55). And in the same

³ I will refer to parallels from several sacramentaries. These are respectively: the Sacramentarium Leonianum (Sacr. Leon.) = the Sacramentarium Veronense (Sacr. Veron.), ed. L.C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhöfer and P. Siffrin, Rerum Ecclesiasticorum Documenta. Fontes 1 (Rome: Herder, 1956); the Sacramentarium Triplex (Sacr. Triplex), ed. Odilo Heiming, Das Sacramentarium Triplex I. Text, Corpus Ambrosiano-Liturgicum I, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 49 (Münster Wf.: Aschendorff, 1968); the Ambrosian Sacramentary of Biasca (Ambros. Biasca), ed. Odilo Heiming, Das Ambrosianische Sacramentar von Biasca I. Text, Corpus Ambrosiano-Liturgicum II, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 51, (Münster Wf.: Aschendorff, 1969); the Fränkish Sacramentarium Gelasianum (Fränk. Sacr. Gelas.), ed. Kunibert Mohlberg, Das Fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 1/2 (3rd edition; Münster Wf.: Aschendorff, 1971). References are to the prayer numbers unless stated otherwise.

text taken from the feast of the circumcision the fact that Christ submitted himself to the yoke of the Jewish Law evokes the yoke of the devil. Another antithesis figures in 102. The devil attacks us unceasingly as a daily Enemy (*cotidianus hostis*), while on the other hand we are strengthened every day by the protection of God (*cotidiana protectio*).

In the eucharistic prayer (immolacio) of the Mass on the sixth day of the Easter-week we find an elaborate antithesis: Vicit malicia (= -am) diabuli pietatis tuae dignatio (the grace of your love) quia ubi habundavit peccatum, superhabundavit et gracia. Sed plus nobis tua misericordia reddedit quam invidus inimicus abstulerat. Ille paradysum invidit, tu caelos donasti (306).

Another characteristic of the texts of the prayers is the parallelism of the parts of a sentence; we know this especially from the Roman liturgical texts but it also appears in the *Missale Gothicum*. In a benediction prayer of the baptismal water we read: *Exorcizo te, creatura aquae, omnes* (= -is) exercitus diabuli, omnes (= -is) potestas adversariae (= -ii), omnes (= -is) umbra daemonum (258).

Since Christians had at their disposal quite a series of synonyms to denote the devil and the demons, variatio also became a favourite figure of speech. See for instance Cyprian, Ep. 61.3.1–2 (inimicus/diabolus/Christi adversarius) qui essent quos inimicus lacesserat, qui contra quibus diabolus ut suis parceret. Neque enim persequitur et impugnat Christi adversarius nisi castra et milites Christi; Augustine: In Ioannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus 4.3 triumphus de inimico ... Nos si cum Deo sumus, diabolum vincimus: nam et si tu solus cum diabolo pugnaveris, vinceris. Exercitatus hostis est.

LIST OF DENOMINATIONS

1. Adversarius/adversa potestas

Adversarius occurs four times in the Miss. Goth.: adversarii temptamenta (8); qui pressuris huius mundi et insidiis adversarii fatigamur (130); adversarius noster diabulus (233);⁵ omnes (= -is) potestas adversariae (Rose: = adversarii, 258). The correction by Rose is supported

⁴ Cf. Rom. 5:20.

⁵ Cf. 1 Pet. 5:8.

by the parallelism in this passage. Another possibility could be potestas adversaria (potestates adversariae); cf. Ambros. Biasca: Ut beata martyr...nos...incessabiliter contra adversarias potestates deffendat. Moreover, in the Miss. Goth. adversa potestas occurs: ut universum superit (= -et) adversae potestatis incursum (137). A comparable denomination (contraria potestas) is found in Sacr. Triplex: Nulla hic nequitia contrariae potestatis obsistat. But all things considered, the correction potestas adversarii in 258 should be preferred because of the important stylistic argument of the parallelism.

Like *inimicus*, *adversarius* has become a real synonym of *diabolus*, almost a proper name. As appears from some early Christian texts, the use of *adversarius* could pose the danger that the author ends up in a dualistically coloured sphere. Hence the warning of Eusebius of Emesa: such denominations do not mean that the devil is equal to God.⁸

2. Cotidianus hostis

In the prayer Post orationem Dominicam (Miss. Goth. 102) that is connected to the phrase Sed libera nos a malo, daily protection against the ambush of the daily Enemy is implored: et intercedentem (= -e) beata Maria genitrice tua contra cotidiani hostis insidias cotidiana nos protectione defende, salvator mundi. The devil is called here 'daily Enemy' on account of his incessant attacks that can only be repelled with the assistance of God's daily protection (cotidiana...protectione). For the denomination cotidianus hostis of the devil I do not have other examples. It is interesting to remark here that in Christian texts cotidianus occurs frequently with reference to the daily attacks of the devil and the demons, for instance in Sulpicius Severus: praeter illa cotidiana illius adversum vim humanae spiritalisque nequitiae diversa

⁶ Ambros. Biasca 1133 = Sacr. Triplex 2840.

⁷ Sacr. Triplex 3169.

⁸ Si enim maxime et inimicus vocatur et adversarius diabolus...non quia inimicus nominatur iam aequalis est. Non enim aequaliter habens virtutem dicitur adversarius, sed ideo quia non placet Deo eius malignitas; non sicut tenebrae videntur lumini ex aequali virtute adversariae, quia tanta detinent spatia tenebrae, quanta et luna. Si enim et hoc tale, non ita adversatur diabolus Deo ex aequalitate; sed quia Deus maligno non delectatur, ex eo quod vertitur, et non vult et odit,—si tamen ita debet dici,—adversa voluntas est, non tamen virtus. See Eusebius of Emesa, Sermones, in Eusèbe d'Émèse. Discours conservés en Latin, ed. E.M. Buytaert, SSL 26 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1953), 202.8. Eusebius of Emesa, Oratio 20.16, will have used ἐχθρός and ἀντικείμενος.

*certamina.*⁹ Since the *Vita Antonii*, 'daily' is current in ascetic writings to emphasize that in the struggle against the evil spirits one should not be neglectful a single day.¹⁰ One should avoid the *cotidiana peccamina*,¹¹ and the *cotidiana delicta*.¹² This usage paved the way for the expression 'daily enemy'.

The expression *cotidianus hostis* can also be found in profane literature, but is extremely rare. In his *Epitome* 1.5, the historiographer Florus refers to the hostile Aequi and Volsci, two tribes in Latium, with whom the Romans had daily confrontations, by using the occasional expression *cotidiani hostes: pervicacissimi tamen Latinorum Aequi et Volsci et cotidiani, ut sic dixerim, hostes* (also in *Epitome* 1.19.3: *utrique cotidiani et quasi domestici hostes*).¹³

Direct influence on Christian usage is out of the question, *cotidianus* having its 'Sitz im Leben' in ascetic literature. Adaptation of profane terms—also in the field of the names of the devil—must be sought elsewhere, particularly in Christian poetry of traditional epic style, where the influence of profane poets is a characteristic feature. For instance, when the Christian poet Arator calls the devil *ferus hostis*, ¹⁴ one rightly could think of deliberate Christian transposition from Ovid. ¹⁵

In the Miss. Goth. the expression iniquus hostis also occurs (nos eripiendo ab iniquo hoste, 11) as well as hostis without attribute (460, ut...nos superato hoste victuriam consequamur). In the plural, as a synonym for daemones, hostes is found in the Miss. Goth. 187. 16

In other sacramentaries *hostis* also occurs frequently, in the singular as well as in the plural. In the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, in the edition of Lietzmann, based on the manuscript of Aachen, ¹⁷ *hostis* is found three times as a denomination of the devil, whereas the demons are called *hostes* four times: *ut de hoste generis humani maior victoria duceretur* (p. 7.5; cf. *Sacr. Veron.* 1180); *qui populum tuum de*

⁹ Sulpicius Severus, Ep. 2.13.

¹⁰ Vita Antonii 19.2-4.

¹¹ Priscillian, *Tractatus* 10.126.

¹² Filastrius, Diversarum hereseon liber 107.6.

¹³ Thes.L.L. 4,1089-1091.

¹⁴ Arator, De actibus apostolorum, I 360.

¹⁵ Ovid, Metamorphoses I 85.

¹⁶ In some passages of the sacramentaries hostes refers to spiritual enemies as well as to those on earth. See Fränk. Sacr. Gelas. 286: ut per ieiunium nostrae fragilitatis, et manifesti subiciantur hostes, et invisibiles excludantur; Sacr. Triplex 3001: contra visibiles et invisibiles hostes; Ambros. Biasca CLXII (p. 181.3): inimicorum invisibilium.

¹⁷ Hans Lietzmann, Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum, nach dem Aachener Exemplar herausgegeben (Münster Wf.: Aschendorff, 1921; reprint 1967).

hostis callidi servitute liberasti (p. 89.9 = Fränk. Sacr. Gelas. 585); ab hoste securus in tua semper gratia perseveret (p. 202.31 = Sacr. Veron. 35); liberemur ab hostibus mentis et corporis (p. 49.1 = Fränk. Sacr. Gelas. 336); ab hostium furore defende (p. 113.3); ab hostium liberemur insidiis (p. 41.4); et abstinendo cunctis efficiamur hostibus fortiores (p. 166.2 = Sacr. Veron. 894).¹⁸

3. Daemones

This denomination is used three times in the *Miss. Goth.*, in the gen. plur. only: praedo daemonum (about Mary in 98) daemonum fraude decepti (249); umbra daemonum (258). Daemonium, outnumbering daemon in the New Testament, is completely lacking in the *Miss. Goth.* ¹⁹ In general, it has been established that in early Christian writings daemon/daemones is used more frequently than daemonium/daemonia. ²⁰

In liturgical texts the devil himself is usually opposed to Christ and the martyr. His satellites have to be content with a more modest place. It is easy to explain why in some passages of the *Miss. Goth.* not the devil but the evil powers are mentioned. When Mary is called *praedo daemonum* (98), it is suggested that the demons are robbers (*latrones*; this expression is particularly known from the exegesis of the parable of the Good Samaritan).²¹ In *Miss. Goth.* 53 the use of the plural is also easily accounted for. The passage (from the Mass of Christ's circumcision) ends with the opposition *iugum legis/iugum diaboli*: to obtain a contrast to *carnalis* (*circumcisio Christi*) the denomination *spiritales nequitiae* offered a way out.

In the prayer of benediction of the baptismal water (258) we find the expression *umbra daemonum*: Exorcizo te, omnes (= -is) exercitus diabuli, omnes (= -is) potestas adversariae (= -ii), omnes (= -is) umbra dae-

¹⁸ Cf. A.A.R. Bastiaensen, 'L'église à la conquête de sa liberté. Recherches philologiques dans le sacramentaire de Vérone,' in G.J.M. Bartelink, L.J. Engels and A.A.R. Bastiaensen, *Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva*, Suppl. Fasc. 3 (Nijmegen: Dekker en Van de Vegt, 1970), 119–153, see 132 and 146.

¹⁵ Cf. Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin*, 464: on 'daemon': 'Il est rare dans le Missel et les Sacramentaires'; on 'daemonium': 'Pas d'exemple dans les anciens Sacramentaires, ni dans le Missel.'

²⁰ For instance Gregory of Tours; cf. G.J.M. Bartelink, 'Les dénominations du diable chez Grégoire de Tours,' *Revue des Études Latines* 48 (1970) 411–432, see 414.

²¹ Luke 10:30; the man who had fallen into the hands of robbers.

monum (Rose translates: 'iedere schaduw van demonen', 'every shadow of demons').²²

Umbra is in some other Christian texts also employed in connection with the devil and the demons. In his Formulae Eucherius takes umbra in Job 40:16 (sub umbra dormit in secreto et locis umentibus) to refer to the devil.²³ And in Gregory of Tours we read daemonis umbra intolerabilis.²⁴ Here, umbra denotes the infernal appearance of a demon. As umbrae in profane Latin could mean the nocturnal appearance of hellish spirits, with Christians it is used sometimes for the demons.²⁵ In a series of denominations of demons in an exorcism of the holy oil on Maundy Thursday,²⁶ umbra occurs also: Impetum quoque daemonum vel incursiones spirituum immundorum atque legionum malignarum vexationes, umbras et impugnationes et infestationes malignorum,...et venena promiscua que spirituum immundorum et virtute nefanda et exercitio diabolico conficiuntur.²⁷

4. Devorator animarum

Only once in the *Miss. Goth.* the devil is called *devorator animarum* (devourer of souls; in 311): *Qui vere ut leo de tribu Juda* (cf. Apoc. 5:5) *mundo ostensus, animarum devoratorem extinctum leonem diabulum omnes* (= -is) *terra laetatur* ('Now, that Thou art truly revealed to the world as the lion from the tribe of Judah, the whole earth rejoices that the lion, that is the devil, the devourer of souls, has been slain'). The

²² Ilona Opelt refers to three linguistic, or linguistic-psychological forces, that have been active in the formation of the euphemistic denominations of the devil, 'darunter die Angst, den Teufel durch Namensnennung zu beschwören, die in die exorzisierende Bescheltung umgeschlagen ist.' See art. 'Euphemismus,' in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* vol. 6, ed. Th. Klauser (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1964–1966), 960.

²³ Eucherius, Formulae 7, ed. C. Wotke, CSEL 31 (Vienna: ÖAW, 1894), 43, 11–12.

²⁴ Gregory of Tours, In gloria martyrum 15.

²⁵ Cf. Paulinus Petricordiae, *Vita Martini* 5, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 16 (Vienna: ÖAW, 1888), 7. See also Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 6.124: *si nihil sinistrum vanae minentur umbrae*.

²⁶ Sacr. Triplex 1223.

²⁷ In *De civitate Dei* 9.19 Augustine makes an interesting remark: the fact that Christians always refer to demons in a pejorative sense would also have influenced non-Christians: numquam bonos daemonas legimus (viz. in the Bible), sed ubicumque illarum litterarum hoc nomen positum reperitur, sive daemones, sive daemonia dicantur, non nisi maligni significantur spiritus. Et hanc loquendi consuetudinem in tantum populi usquequaque secuti sunt, ut eorum etiam, qui pagani appellantur et deos multos ac daemones colendos esse contendunt, nullus fere sit tam litteratus et doctus, qui audeat in laude vel servo suo dicere: "daemonem habes"; si cuilibet hoc dicere voluerit, non se aliter accipi quam maledicere voluisse.

allusion to 1 Pet. 5:8 is evident, where it is said of the Adversary: *circuit tamquam leo rugiens*, *quaerens quem devoret*. An allusion to this passage also appears in another passage in the *Miss. Goth.* In 233, a prayer on behalf of the priests—the shepherds of the flock that is committed to them (*pastores et praepositos ovium tuarum*)—the officiant implores God not to let our Adversary (*adversarius noster*; cf. 1 Pet. 5:8 *adversarius vester*) damage the flock.

To explain the biblically coloured expression *devorator animarum* Ezek. 22:25 could also be adduced, where the wicked kings of Israel are compared to a lion that devours souls: *sicut leo rugiens...animas devoraverunt.*²⁸ Lactantius seems to have been the first Christian author who took this biblical expression *animas devorare* and applied it to the demons.²⁹ Being enemies of mankind they intend to devour human souls: *idcirco etiam humanas hostias excogitaverunt, ut quam multas devorent animas.*

As a denomination of the devil *devorator* is found only sporadically in Christian writings, before the Miss. Goth. only in Augustine and Gregory the Great.³⁰ Just as in the Miss. Goth., so Augustine, in his Sermo 210, refers directly to 1 Pet. 5:8: rugiens devorator.31 Gregory on the other hand departs from Job 40:20 (An extrahere poteris Leviathan hamo), where Leviathan in Christian exegesis was considered a symbol of the devil.32 Gregory explains that the demonic monster is the devourer of mankind, adopting the allegorical explanation of this passage that was current with Christian authors. Christ's victory, gained by his incarnation and passion, is connected with this text. Christ's human body, a shape in which the devil did not recognize his divinity so that the mystery of Christ's death on the cross escaped him, was like bait on an angling-rod by which the devil could be caught. In this way Christ, one might say, descended into the sea, the domain of the devilish monster. Satan devoured the body of Christ, but was caught by the barbed hook of the divinity. Thus, unintentionally, he brought about the redemption of mankind. The devorator devours the body of Christ, Gregory says:

²⁸ See also Ezek. 19:6: factus est leo et didicit...homines devorare.

²⁹ Lactantius, Divinae institutiones II 16.21.

³⁰ Cf. Thes.L.L. 5.873, line 14-21; for *devorare* Thes.L.L. 5.876, line 73-82.

³¹ Augustine, Sermo 210.6.

³² Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job XXXIII 14 and In evangelia homilia 25.8: per Leviathan...ille devorator humani generis designatur.

(divinitas Christi) quasi hamus...fauces glutientis tenuit, dum in illa esca carnis patuit, quam devorator appetebat.³³

Finally, we should note that substantives ending in *-ator* can be formed easily when the occasion arises. Augustine for instance calls the devil *desolator* and *fraudator*.³⁴ And we find *impugnator* as a denomination of the devil in a benediction of the baptismal water.³⁵

5. Diabulus (= diabolus)

With 9 passages in the Miss. Goth. diabolus is the name most frequently applied to the devil: de... diabulo triumpharunt (41); iugum diabuli (55); diabulum, qui per Evam humanum genus omne subverterat (107); per quam vinceretur diabulus (138); diabulo et morte (213); solve operam diabuli (217); nox in qua diabulus occubuit (270); adversarius noster diabulus (233; cf. 1 Pet. 5:8 adversarius vester diabolus); quos dampnacionis suae participes diabulus gloriabatur effectus (= -os) esse (249).

6. Impius/iniquus

These designations are used in Christian writings both as adjective and as substantive to denote the devil and the demons (the same holds for inimicus, invidus, malus, malignus, nequissimus, niger). Once in the Miss. Goth. impius is used substantivally as a name of the devil: Permittes (= -is) te clavorum nexibus alligatum, ad stipitem crucis tereri (= teri?, or teneri?), ut non sit, quam impius quondam expavescat, potencia (311).

Several instances of the substantival use of *iniquus* as denomination of the devil may be found in the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae:³⁶ Evagrius, translation of Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 24; Ambrose, *Ep.* 20.15; Commodian, *Instructiones* II 21.10–11; *Carmen apologeticum* 930: *ad seducendos eos quoniam est missus iniquus*; more than once in Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale* (it is lacking in the *Opus Paschale*), for instance II 106: *post-quam venimus ad Christum*, *iam non repetamus iniquum*; *Vitae Patrum* V 5.26: *operante iniquo*.

³³ Gregory the Great, *In evangelia homilia* 25.8.

³⁴ Augustine, *Sermo* 119.5: *astutia desolatoris vel fraudatoris* (in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, 9 vols., ed. A. Mai, Rome: Typis Sacri Consilii Propagando Christiano Nomini 1852–1888).

³⁵ Blaise, Le vocabulaire latin, 468.

³⁶ Thes.L.L. 7, col. 1644, line 76-col. 1645, line 4.

In some biblical texts *impius* is explained as referring to the devil and evil spirits. For instance Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* IX 28.44: *Quis appellatione impii nisi diabolus designatur*?,³⁷ and in *Moralia in Job* IX 7: *impios...malignos spiritus vocat*.

7. Inimicus³⁸

In the *Miss. Goth. inimicus* as name of the devil occurs six times in the singular: in a *Benedictio populi: ut nihil in eis inimicus aut violentia sub-repat (= surripiat) aut fraude decipiat* (91); as variation to *diabolus* (38); in an apostrophe: *qui venturus est...iudicare te, inimice* (258); *ab omnibus nos inimici insidiis inlaesos faciat* (312); as epithet ('hostile') with the denomination of the devil *tyrannus: de inimico tyranno triumphaturus* (316); of the martyrs: *inimicum, dum occiduntur, occidunt* (395).

From the beginning of Christian Latin writings *inimicus*, with the special meaning of 'Devil', was a common word. For the biblical roots one could refer first to the parable of the sower,³⁹ where Christ himself identifies the 'Enemy' as the devil (13:39): *Inimicus autem qui seminavit ea, est diabolus*. Other texts from the New Testament where the devil is called 'Enemy', are Luke 10:18–20 and Acts 13:10.⁴⁰

8. Leo

Through his death Christ as the lion from the tribe of Judah (cf. Apoc. 5:5, vicit leo de tribu Juda) has gained the victory over the roaring lion (the devil, cf. 1 Pet. 5:8): Miss. Goth. 311 Qui vere ut leo de tribu Juda mundo ostensus, animarum devoratorem extinctum leonem diabulum omnes terra laetatur.

This opposition is to be found in several Christian authors. In *Sermo 4* De Vetere Testamento Augustine, discussing the various meanings a word

³⁷ Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job IX 28.44 (ad Job 9:24).

³⁸ See Mary Pierre Ellebracht, Remarks on the vocabulary of the ancient orations in the Missale Romanum (Nijmegen: Dekker en Van de Vegt, 1963), 38: 'In the ORATIONS it occurs but twice in this special sense. Once it has reference to the devil's power over mankind in general: ut inimici a nobis expelleres potestatem, 438; and the second time it regards the power which the devil may have over a soul after death: ut non tradas eam in manus inimici, 208.'

³⁹ Matt. 13:25-39.

⁴⁰ Respectively Luke 10:18–20 Videbam Satanam sicut fulgur de caelo cadentem. Ecce dedi vobis potestatem calcandi supra serpentes et scorpiones et super omnem virtutem inimici et nihil vobis nocebit; and Acts 13:10 (Paul to the magician Elymas): O plene omni dolo et omni fallacia, fili diaboli, inimice omnis iustitiae.

can have, gives the lion as an instance: In leone fortitudinem agnovimus, et tamen leo etiam diabolus nominatus est.⁴¹ Likewise Bede, In Genesim II 6.4: Sicut etiam 'leo' aliquando Dominum, aliquando diabolum designat. Sed diabolum propter superbiam et ferocitatem, Dominum propter potentiam.⁴²

9. Nequitiae spiritales

In the same way that the angels are called celestial powers (*virtutes*; cf. *supernae potestates*, *Miss. Goth.* 306), comparable abstract words are used to denominate the devil and the demons.

We find *spiritales nequitiae* in *Miss. Goth.* 53 (in contrast to the corporal circumcision of the Lord): *ut sicut pro eius circumcisione carnali sollempnia celebramus, ita spiritalium nequitiarum inlusione laetemur.* The source is a text from the New Testament, Eph. 6:12: *contra spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus.*

Tertullian uses *malitia*, a synonym of *nequitia: malitia spiritalis a* primordio auspicata est in hominis exitium.⁴³ And in a medieval hymn we still read: Vinculum malitiae (the evil powers, the evil demon) dissolve, dominatrix.⁴⁴ Blaise mentions a eucharistic prayer ad repellendam tempestatem: A domo tua, quaesumus Domine, spiritales nequitiae repellantur,⁴⁵ the traces of which are visible, for instance, in an inscription at the entry of the castle Hochosterwitz:⁴⁶ A domo tua, o Domine, omnes nequitiae repellantur.⁴⁷

10. Praedo daemonum

In an offertory at the feast of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin praedo daemonum occurs as one of the honorific titles of Mary: lux

⁴¹ Augustine, Sermo 4 De Vetere Testamento 4.22.

⁴² Bede, *In Genesim* II 6.4. Cf. A. Quacquarelli, *Il leone e il drago nella simbolica dell'età patristica*, Quaderni di Vetera Christianorum 11 (Bari: Istituto di letteratura cristiana antica, Università di Bari, 1975).

⁴³ Tertullianus, *Apologeticum* 22.4.

⁴⁴ F.J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* 3 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Caritas Verlag/Lambertus Verlag 1854; reprint Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 202.

⁴⁵ Blaise, Le vocabulaire latin, 466, n. 322.

⁴⁶ Erwin Steindl, *Lateinische Inschriften von Kärnten* (Klagenfurt: Heyn, 1976), 133f.

⁴⁷ See Johannes B. Bauer, 'Latein auf Stein. Von den Tücken der Inschriften oder De titulis obscuris et ambiguis,' *Ianus* (Informationen zum altsprachlichen Unterricht) 17 (1996), 30–37, esp. 36.

gentium, spes fidelium, praedo daemonum, confusio Judaeorum (Miss. Goth. 98). It is an allusion to the denomination of the devil as praedo and of the demons as praedones (alongside latrones and fures). In the Miss. Goth., however, the tables are turned: the demons themselves are the booty (the analogy is the devil as deceptor deceptus: the deceiver deceived, the biter bit).

According to Jerome, Jer. 4:7, where it is said of Nebuchadnezzar: ascendit leo de cubili suo et praedo gentium se levavit, refers to the devil.⁴⁸ Thus he links praedo as a name for the devil to the Bible: Iste est, ut diximus, verus Nabuchodonosor, de quo et Petrus loquitur (1 Pet. 5:8)...et praedo—sive vastator—gentium se levavit.⁴⁹

Sometimes a Christian author, as in *Miss. Goth.* 98, plays upon the words: the robbers are captured themselves (*praedo/praeda*); for instance Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* 17.229: *praeda fit sanctis vetus ille praedo*.

More current than *praedo*, however, is *latro/latrones*, which occurs particularly in the allegorical exegesis of the parable of the Good Samaritan.⁵⁰

11. Serpens antiqua

This denomination of the devil has a biblical background (Apoc. 12:9 serpens antiquus qui vocatur diabolus; cf. ibid. 20:2). In the Miss. Goth. we find the feminine form serpens antiqua: (Collectio of the feast of the Invention of the Cross) Dona nobis, omnipotens pater, per mysterium crucis Unigeniti tui et (= ut) venenum serpentis antiquae quo (= quod) fidelis (= -ibus) nitetur propinare per illud medicamentum, quod Christi manavit latere, possit a fidelium pectoribus expurgari (318).

Serpens as a feminine denomination of the devil is not an isolated case.⁵¹ Arator, for instance, writes about the serpens antiqua. Claudius

⁴⁸ Comment on Jer. 4:7, see Jerome, *Commentarii in Ieremiam*, ed. S. Reiter, CCSL 74 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), 42.

⁴⁹ Other instances are: Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 11.38; id., *Hamartigenia* 390: praedo potens; Leo the Great, *Sermo* 22.3–4: *improbus praedo*; Radulfus Ardens, *Homilia* 36, *De tempore* (PL 155.1447–1448): *malignus praedo*.

⁵⁰ Since Origen, Homilia 34 in Lucam; Latin translation by Ambrose, Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 7.73 (on Luke 10:30): qui sunt isti latrones nisi angeli noctis atque tenebrarum; cf. Augustine, Quaestiones evangeliorum 2.19: latrones diabolus et angeli eius.

⁵¹ Cf. Arator, *De actibus apostolorum* II 1186 serpens antiqua. Claudius Marius Victor uses serpens both as masc. and as fem.: Alethia I 395–6 ni serpens dira veneno/...suasisset fraudibus Evam.

Marius Victor uses *serpens* both as masculine and as feminine: *ni serpens dira veneno/...suasisset fraudibus Evam.*⁵²

In the Middle Ages it was believed that Lucifer intended to seduce Eve by means of a serpent with the head of a girl, because 'what is similar is attracted to something similar' (or like is attracted by like—a Platonic concept). For this reason Satan was also rendered in the visual arts and in the mystery plays as a serpent with the head of a girl in the seduction scene.

The use of serpens recalls the fall of man; cf. (Invention of the Cross): Tunc diabulo suadente Eva decepitur, nunc angelo nunciante Maria clarificatur. Tunc per invidia serpentes (= -is) homo qui fuerat creatus, peremetur, nunc per misericordiam redimentes (= -is) homo qui perierat, liberatur (321) and Eve against Mary: Illius (sc. Evae) perfidia serpenti consensit (98).⁵³

12. Temptator (tentator)

This term goes back to Matt. 4:3: accedens tentator dixit ei. In the benediction of the people on the eve of Christmas the proper sense of 'tempter' has been strongly emphasized: Et temptationum insidias, vel aculeos temptatoris, spiritalibus armis accinctos, adversarii temptamenta et praesentis vitae inlecebras in tuo nomine facias superare (8).⁵⁴ Yet, in Christian usage of temptator the seductive activity of the devil does not always appear in the forefront: it can also be a question of stylistic variation.

13. Tyrannus

This denomination is found once in the Miss. Goth. (with the epithet inimicus): (Immolacio) His (= Hic) namque crucem propter redemcionem humani generis, de inimico tyranno triumphaturus ascendit (316). The term denotes the devil as a cruel oppressor and fits with the devil as ruler of the world, princeps mundi huius, a term used in the New Testament.⁵⁵ As an aside one might mention that Augustine renders princeps huius mundi sometimes as magistratus huius saeculi

⁵² Claudius Marius Victor: *Alethia* I 395-6.

⁵³ See also *Ambros. Biasca* 499; benediction of the baptismal water on the Eve of Easter: *recipiant imaginem deitatis olim perditam livore serpentis*.

⁵⁴ Cf. Blaise, Le vocabulaire latin, 468.

⁵⁵ John 14:30; 16:11; cf. Eph. 6:12: adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum.

(mundi)—magistratus huius saeculi a Domino dicitur;⁵⁶ non Dominus magistratum huius mundi diceret.⁵⁷ This reading has a particular Roman connotation since *magistratus* is used especially for the Roman authorities. Tyrannus as a denomination of the devil also occurs in the Sacr. Veron. (= Sacr. Leon.),58 and in the Sacr. Triplex.59 It is also found in Christian inscriptions (tyrannus antiquus) and for instance in Prudentius and in Paulinus of Périgueux.60

Eusebius of Emesa, refers to the domination of the devil as to tyranny: et diabolus exercebat tyrannidem.⁶¹ And Leo the Great remarks in Sermo 22 that the devil lays claim to the right of a tyrant, since mankind submitted voluntarily to him: nam superbia hostis antiqui non immerito sibi in omnes homines ius tyrannicum vindicabat.⁶² In an Easter sequence of Notker Balbulus, Carmen suo dilecto, Goliath, here a symbol of Satan, is named tyrant: es congressus (sc. Christus) tyranno Goliath/quem lapillo prosternens unico ('Thou hast proceeded to the fight with the tyrant Goliath and with a single little stone Thou hast subdued him').63

THE ACTIVITY OF THE DEVIL AND THE DEMONS

The way in which the devil and the demons operate is depicted in the *Miss. Goth.* in traditional terminology. Notable is the form of the acc. operam in 217: solve operam diabuli et omnes laqueos disrumpe peccati. Parallels in other sacramentaries offer here the form opera (n. pl.:

Augustine, De sermone Domini 2.14.47.
 Augustine, Expositio epistulae ad Galatas 4.7–8, c. 32.

⁵⁸ Sacr. Veron. 182: pestifera...tyranni iura; cf. 1180: diabolica tyrannis.

⁵⁹ Sacr. Triplex 1807, where Christ as king is opposed to the devil as tyrant: Ne diabolica sectando vestigia a Christi consortio recedamus. Quia nemo potest summi verique regis celsitudine delectari nisi qui pestifera destructa subversaque tyranni iura calcaverit. Cf. also tyrannicus in the Sacr. Triplex 2234: Is (sc. the martyr Sixtus) enim vigilantia praeditus pastorali callidi hostis fraudolentiam praevenit et tyrannicae rapacitati modum imposuit.

⁶⁰ Prudentius, Hamartigenia 721; Paulinus of Périgueux, Vita Martini III 261.

⁶¹ Eusebius of Emesa, Oratio 13.17 (Eusèbe d'Émèse. Discours conservés en Latin, ed. E.M. Buytaert, 302.8.).

⁶² Leo the Great, Sermo 22.3 (PL 54.196).

⁶³ For Augustine already the fight between David and Goliath is symbolic of Christ's fight against the devil. Cf. Enarrationes in Psalmos 55.4: In figura Christi David, sicut Golias in figura diaboli: et quod David prostravit Goliam Christus est qui occidit diabolum. Quid est autem Christus qui diabolum occidit? Humilitas occidit superbiam. See also Enarrationes in Psalmos 143.1.

the works): solve opera diaboli et mortifera peccati vincula disrumpe;⁶⁴ Solve opera diaboli et omnes laqueos disrumpe peccati;⁶⁵ Solve opera diaboli, rumpe vincula peccati.⁶⁶ It seems improbable that opera as a fem. sing. form in Miss. Goth. 217 is employed as a synonym for operatio, that occurs in early Christian texts as a translation of the Greek energeia (in the New Testament exclusively: 8 times). It is possible, however, that as a fem. sing. it is an equivalent to the neutr. pl. opera (cf. the 'Fränkische' oeuvre).

Insidiae occurs most frequently (5 times) to describe demonic activities: temptationum insidias (8); ab omnibus diabolicis et humanis insidiis (63); cotidiani hostis insidias; qui...insidiis adversarii fatigamur (102); ab omnibus nos inimici insidiis inlaesos faciat (312). Further we find aculeus (8: aculeos temptatoris); fraus (249: daemonum fraude decepti); incursus (137: ut universum superit (= -et) adversae potestatis incursum; inlusio; (53 spiritalium nequitiarum inlusione); invidia (321 per invidia (= -am) serpentes (= -is).

Conclusion

As could be expected, the denominations of the devil and the demons in the *Miss. Goth.* show numerous similarities with other liturgical texts: in terms of frequency, the use of stylistic elements, and the application of contrast and variation through synonyms, often combined with parallellism of sentences. On the one hand we find current names such as *diabolus, inimicus* and *hostis,* but on the other hand we also come across rare denominations like *cotidianus hostis, devorator animarum, tyrannus,* substantivated *impius,* and *umbra* (the appearance of a demon).⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Fränk. Sacr. Gelas. 688.

⁶⁵ Sacr. Triplex 1231 = Ambros. Biasca 457.

⁶⁶ Ambros. Biasca 550 = Sacr. Triplex 926.

⁶⁷ Additional literature may be found in: G.J.M. Bartelink, 'Les démons comme brigands,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 21 (1967) 12–24 and G.J.M. Bartelink, "The active Demons," in *Media Latinitas*. A collection of essays to mark the occasion of the retirement of L.J. Engels, ed. R.I.A. Nip, H. van Dijk, E.M.C. van Houts, C.H. Kneepkens and G.A.A. Kortekaas, Instrumenta Patristica 28 (Steenbrugge/Turnhout: Sint-Pietersabdij/Brepols, 1995), 177–180.

OVERSHADOWING OR FORESHADOWING RETURN: THE ROLE OF DEMONS IN ERIUGENA'S PERIPHYSEON

Willemien Otten

ERIUGENA BETWEEN PATRISTIC AND MEDIEVAL DEMONOLOGY

Ever since its composition between 862–66 CE the *Periphyseon*,¹ the Carolingian philosophical-theological masterpiece authored by the Irishman John the Scot Eriugena, has posed considerable problems of interpretation. In the early-medieval period these seem not to have been considered particularly relevant, as the work, if not benevolently ignored, likely had an impact only in small intellectual circles. Aside from an isolated reference in the eleventh-century eucharistic controversy by Berengar of Tours associating Eriugena with the literal position of Ratramnus of Corbie,² it was not until the thirteenth century that his thought would become the object of controversy.

While late thirteenth-century sources, and many handbooks following them, explained Eriugena's condemnation in 1225 by Pope Honorius III as a result of the use of his work by the heretic Amalric of Bene, it was more likely a result of the general anti-philosophical climate surrounding the influx of new Aristotelian ideas than of any association with the Amalrician heresy.³ The twisted fate of the *Periphyseon* in the high Middle Ages notwithstanding, it appears that the ambiance in which the work was originally written was devoid of controversy, even though the Carolingian theological scene was ridden by conflict and Eriugena himself had been embroiled in the predestination

¹ Below I cite the *Periphyseon* (PP) according to the critical edition in CCCM 161–65 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996–2003). For the translations I have used I.P. Sheldon-Williams (transl.), rev. by J.J. O'Meara, *Eriugena. Periphyseon (The Division of Nature*), (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987).

² See T.J. Holopainen, *Dialectic and Theology in the Eleventh Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 111 with reference to earlier literature on the ascription of Ratramnus' work to Eriugena.

³ On the debunking of an original connection between Eriugena and Amalric, see P. Lucentini, 'L'eresia di Amalrico,' in *Eriugena Redivivus. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte seines Denkens im Mittelalter und im Übergang zur Neuzeit*, ed. W. Beierwaltes (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1987), 174–91.

dispute early on in his career.⁴ Interesting also is that Eriugena's voice could still be heard after his condemnation, be it indirectly, through Honorius Augustodunensis's *Clavis Physicae*, which provides us with an accurate even if not widely read summary of the work.⁵

On the heels of Eriugena's twentieth-century historical rediscovery and philosophical rehabilitation, it is worth analyzing his position on demons as well, in part because it allows us to connect patristic views with those in the high-medieval era. And while there is ample reason to situate the Periphyseon's chapter on demons in the context of an academic-scholastic rather than a polemical-heretical debate, not unlike the artful way in which the dialogue as a whole communicates many elements from the Carolingian school tradition,7 an expository approach may be easier said than done. For however ethereal the subject may seem in modern eyes, medieval demonology could have important social and theological ramifications. To the extent that demons were seen as inhabiting bodies, they posed a real threat for human beings, who were similarly embodied and whose bodies were considered the weakest link, if not an outright hindrance in their quest for the divine. Steering humanity away from self-control and an ascetic reliance on the habituated will, embedded in a loose Augustinian-Gregorian framework that was simultaneously governed by divine providence and threatened by divine judgment, demons could cause human beings to drift away on the waves of arbitrariness rather than being pulled towards the divine.

⁴ For an account of various Carolingian theological controversies, including on predestination, see my chapter on Carolingian Theology in *The Medieval Theologians*, ed. G.R. Evans (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 65–82.

⁵ The ties between Eriugena and Honorius are analyzed by S. Gersh, 'Honorius Augustudonensis and Eriugena. Remarks on the Method and Content of the *Clavis Physicae*,' in: *Eriugena Redivivus*, 162–73. C. Bynum points out that the Clavis was rarely cited or copied, see her *Resurrection of the Body* (n. 8 below), 151.

⁶ For a very recent example of this, see S. Gersh and D. Moran, eds., *Eriugena, Berkeley and the Idealist Tradition* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).

⁷ A case in point is Eriugena's long digression on Aristotle's categories in *Periphyseon* (henceforth PP) I, the use of which for the description of God as creator he ultimately rejects. See on this W. Otten, *The Anthropology of Johannes Scottus Eriugena* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 57–59. For general background on the Carolingian school tradition, see J. Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre. Logic, Theology and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

The Periphyseon's meandering structure does not prove helpful either. Its apparent disregard for ecclesial and sacramental issues appears to have led Caroline Walker Bynum to regard Eriugena as valuing spiritualizing over corporeal concerns, preferring individuality to community.8 Such dichotomies seem at least implied by her analysis of Eriugena's position on bodily resurrection, as she classifies the joint position of Honorius and Eriugena as a spiritualizing alternative to the more physical and sacramental tradition elaborated in mainstream scholastic theology.9 Whether this judgment is correct, including whether Bynum is justified in declaring scholasticism mainstream and seeing other models as marginal alternatives, infected perhaps with a smattering of elitism, 10 will be discussed further below. Dyan Elliott, with reference to Bynum, has specified a further development by focusing on the twelfth-century tendency to present demons as disembodied, which appears to have gone hand in hand with an increasingly positive valuation of the human body and the sustained emphasis on bodily resurrection.¹¹ Elliott considers this high-medieval development in contrast with the general agreement in the first three centuries of the Christian era that demons had a bodily nature.¹²

⁸ Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 200–1336 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 137–55. Bynum is careful to point out that more than a monolithic alternative, Eriugena (whom she, following the earlier position of Maieul Cappuyns, avows to have been a monist) and other authors appear to be confused about matters concerning the body and its resurrection.

¹⁹ Bynum's position here is not unlike the assessment of Karl Morrison that the *Periphyseon* shows no discernible interest in history in his *The Mimetic Tradition of Reform in the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 162–71. For a refutation of that position, see W. Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm. A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 26–31. Both Bynum and Morrison classify Eriugena as aloof from mainstream medieval developments but their view here may reflect more the twisted history of his reception as sketched above than an accurate historical assessment. My own take on this has been to contextualize Eriugena as a Carolingian thinker, see e.g. my 'Eriugena's *Periphyseon*: a Carolingian Contribution to the Theological Tradition,' in *Eriugena: East and West*, ed. B. McGinn and W. Otten (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 69–93. This remains an important question that has marred the reading of Eriugena for a long time.

¹⁰ It should be stated in all fairness that Bynum does not explicitly make this point. But to the extent that she sees scholastic discussion as pragmatic (*Resurrection*, 137), she seems to imply that the alternative tradition is overly intellectual, thereby reinforcing the view of Eriugena as an isolated genius.

¹¹ See D. Elliott, Fallen Bodies. Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the High Middle Ages (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 127ff.

¹² See Fallen Bodies, 128.

Bynum's and Elliott's combined historical position, whereby the bodily nature of demons in early Christianity led to their gradual disembodiment in the twelfth century and after, when humanity's corporeal status became further bolstered by the eucharistic theology of transubstantiation, conjure up a powerful background against which to analyze Eriugena's view of demons.¹³ Yet whereas for Bynum the prevailing concern was to trace out the diachronic tradition of bodily resurrection in western Christianity, which led her to assess Eriugena's position as anomalous, I consider it my first task to integrate his demonology—as well as his view on the human body—with the *Periphyseon*'s overarching narrative. For it is my position that to come to an understanding of Eriugena's place in the history of western Christian thought,¹⁴ we need first to insert that work's reading of the cosmos, including of demons and of the body, in the early-medieval development.¹⁵

As the last few decades of research on the *Periphyseon* have made clear, Eriugena has indeed a story to tell us, and to comprehend his position in individual instances, such as on demons or bodies, it is important not to lose sight of that story. In what follows I will therefore first describe how the text of Eriugena's chapter on demons, found in book V of the *Periphyseon*, actually unfolds. In my final section I will assess its intellectual merits in light of the *Periphyseon*'s larger

¹³ One could add a reference here to Alain Boureau, *Satan the Heretic. The Birth of Demonology in the Medieval West*, transl. T. Lavender Fagan (2004; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). Moving away from the focus on body, Boureau associates the return of demonology in the thirteenth century with the theology of the pact and with the concept of the human person as an empty vessel, capable of ecstasy and possession (*Satan the Heretic*, x).

Although in recent years social and intellectual history are growing closer together thanks in large part to the contributions of Peter Brown and Caroline Bynum, in terms of theology both Bynum and Elliott defer almost without questioning to traditional authorities of high medieval theology like Aquinas and Bonaventure, see Bynum, *Resurrection*, 256–71 and Elliott, *Fallen Bodies*, 128–35. For a more complex picture of scholastic demonology, see Boureau, *Satan the Heretic*, 93–118.

¹⁵ It appears to me that early-medieval texts, with their strong interest in 'cosmos as body' and 'world as text', warrant a richer reading of body than the identification with the human body makes possible. For sample analyses see my articles 'Nature, Body and Text in Early Medieval Theology: From Eriugena to Chartres,' in *Divine Creation in Ancient, Medieval, and Early Modern Thought. Essays Presented to the Rev. Dr. Robert D. Crouse*, ed. M. Treschow, W. Otten and W. Hannam (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 235–256 and my 'Anthropology between *Imago Mundi* and *Imago Dei*: The Place of Johannes Scottus Eriugena in the Tradition of Christian Thought,' in *Studia Patristica* 43 (Augustine, Other Latin Writers), ed. F. Young, M. Edwards and P. Parvis (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 459–472.

argument as well as compare it to the development of demonology and bodily resurrection sketched by Bynum and Elliott.

ERIUGENA ON DEMONS: HOW THE ARGUMENT UNFOLDS

At the outset it is important to note that the context for the discussion on demons in the *Periphyseon* is the description of the so-called return. This process of reditus deals with the return of all things to the same God who had initially created them. Eriugena accounts for this dynamic by labeling the creator God as natura creans et non creata while describing God as final cause as natura non creans et non creata. Rather surprisingly, however, he sets the process of return in motion at the beginning of book IV with the story of humanity's creation on the sixth day of Genesis, hence not with its fall which morally and ontologically was to become its lowest point. This discussion of the return continues until the end of book V.16 Thematically books IV and V form the counterpart to the description of the unfolding or processio recounted in books I-III. The fact that the return starts with the creation of man, as the last creature whose being reflects all other creatures, is relevant to the extent that for Eriugena all creation will first return to humanity prior to returning to God as the final cause and resting point of universal nature.

But it is relevant in another way as well, as we receive a first clue as to how the discussion on demons may play out in the *Periphyseon*. By starting out the return with Genesis' paradigmatic story of humanity's creation Eriugena indicates to his readers that its dramatic aftermath, i.e., Genesis' account of humanity's fall and expulsion from paradise, should be subsumed under that same rubric. Although the latter discussion involving the inevitable consequences of death and original sin has the potential to sidetrack him from his intended path, he does

¹⁶ Edouard Jeauneau regards the prayer in PP V 1021B7, CCCM 165: 226 (A. Lux uera Christus illuminet nos interius, ut in lumine sancti spiritus lumen patrem uideamus. N. Fiat) as the end of the *Periphyseon*'s actual argument. It is preserved in only one of the work's four versions, which all go back to ninth-century manuscripts, i.e., in *versio II*, but corroborated by the text of Honorius' *Clavis*. The Trinitarian ending of PP V corresponds with the Trinitarian opening of PP IV 734A, CCCM 164: 4, which likewise emphasizes the role of light and enlightenment. The actual ending of Book V is followed by a postscript for bishop Wulfad to whom the entire work is dedicated. See E. Jeauneau, 'La conclusion de Periphyseon. Comment un dialogue devient monologue,' in *Divine Creation in Ancient, Medieval, and Early Modern Thought*, 223–34.

not defer the discussion of return until the analysis of the fall has been settled. Eriugena's opening of book IV thus reveals a sense of confidence in his exegetical ability to accomplish the return, as the derailing effects of evil are apparently not considered insurmountable.

A closely connected clue to help us decode the *Periphyseon* is found in the central role of incarnation, which Eriugena regards in Maximian fashion as a divine endorsement of human nature and through it of all creation, which is reflected in humanity. The latter point makes it especially hard for Eriugena to imagine that any part of creation will not be saved, as that would gravely compromise the dignity of human nature.

After these comments on the *Periphyseon*'s larger discussion, we now turn to its chapter on demons. Eriugena immediately establishes a soteriological link between return and incarnation, declaring in effect the redemption of human as well as universal nature. He expresses this as follows in PP V 913A–B:

Let no man therefore think it a slight matter that the Word of God was made man as though only human nature was saved thereby: but let it most firmly be believed and most clearly understood that by the Incarnation of the Son of God every creature in heaven and on earth was saved; and by every creature I mean body, vital motion, sense, as well as reason and mind.¹⁷

All beings that God has created in heaven and on earth will be saved, not just their spiritual faculties but also their bodies. Having already stated before that for human beings salvation means restoration of their nature (*ad redemptionem*), Eriugena specifies how for angels it means the achievement of a kind of *gnosis* (*ad cognitionem*). ¹⁸ Clearly befuddled by his Master's soteriological reading of his incarnational cosmology, the Student in the *Periphyseon*'s dialogue keeps coming back to what it entails. In response the Master patiently explains how all things will return to their causes rather than regain their former nature, thus being brought ever closer to the divine, since the causes of

¹⁷ PP V 913A–B, CCCM 165: 75–76 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara pp. 585–86): Non itaque quis parui pendat quod dei uerbum inhumanatum sit ac ueluti humanam naturam solummodo saluarit, sed firmissime credat et purissime intelligat quod per inhumanationem filii dei omnis creatura in caelo et in terra salua facta est. Omnem uero creaturam dico corpus et uitalem motum et sensum, et super haec, rationem et intellectum.

¹⁸ See PP V 912C, CCCM 165: 75.

sensible things are more real than the sensible things themselves, just as voices are more real than their echoes and objects than their shadows.¹⁹ Even irrational and sensible natures will ultimately pass into the nature of man. To explain how this occurs the Master draws an analogy with the lower parts of humanity itself, which tend upwards to achieve oneness with the parts of superior likeness, thus specifying return as ascent. In similar ascending fashion—and here we see the discussion stretching to engage the role of evil—the passions by which humanity was beset after the fall can be trained to transform into virtues.

Reiterating an earlier point, Eriugena states that the resurrection comes about through the cooperation of natural virtue and the grace of God mediated through the incarnation, which he illustrates with a quotation from Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Making of Man*, a guiding anthropological text for him which he had also translated. This leads him to conclude in PP V 919A:

For every rational creature, of whom it is proposed to suppose that all subsist in human nature, even in the toils of its sins and perversities, is always seeking its God, from Whom it has its being and for the contemplation of Whom it was created. For rational nature never seeks the evil, though it is often deceived and led astray into the way of error approving the false for the true, which is the property of error, so that it does not follow the proper direction towards the Supreme Good—even so, it is still the Supreme Good that it is seeking.²⁰

Continuing the discussion of Gregory of Nyssa, Eriugena touches on an interesting point which he only partially pursues, namely whether the Son's incarnate humanity is as inaccessible as his divinity. For Gregory this inaccessibility follows from the infinite divinity of God the Father. Confirming Gregory's position, Eriugena states that the quest for the divine is by definition unending, as humans can only contemplate so-called theophanies, i.e., manifestations of the divine, and not the divine itself.

¹⁹ See PP V 914A, CCCM 165: 77. See also n. 31 below.

²⁰ See PP V 919A, CCCM 165: 83 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 592): Tota siquidem rationalis creatura, quae proprie in hominibus subsistere intelligitur, etiam in delictis suis peruersisque anfractibus deum suum, a quo est, et ad quem contemplandum condita est, semper quaerit. Rationabilis quippe natura nunquam malum appetit. In multis tamen fallitur et decipitur, falsa pro ueris approbans (quod proprium est erroris) et non rectam uiam ingrediens ad summum bonum, quod semper quaerit.

The discussion reverts back to the meaning of evil when the Student asks what happens to eternal punishment, if humans ascend to the same place where the risen Christ resides. His worries are put to rest when the Master explains that when Adam was created in the image of God, his image-character was stored in the human mind; hence it extends to the whole human race, which is contained in Adam, as a kind of gnostic virtue;²¹ to this same virtuous state all humanity will eventually return. Corroborating the notion that nature will be preserved but wickedness punished, the Master makes the following statement in PP V 923C:

Therefore, if the Word of God took human nature upon Him, it was not a part of it (for that would be nothing) but the whole of it universally.... For in no man does God condemn that which He created, but He punishes only that which He did not create. Not even in the case of the prevaricating angels does He punish their nature, nor shall He do so: He will rather extinguish in them their wickedness and impiety and baneful power, as He will also in those wicked men who are their adherents, and perhaps we may say that their eternal damnation will consist in the total abolition of their wickedness and impiety.²²

With the stage for debate set in the above way, the question of how evil and punishment actually affect rational nature, both that of humanity and that of the angels and demons, becomes gradually more pointed. The following options seem to be contemplated. If Christ did indeed assume the entire creation in his incarnation and all things will be saved as a consequence, will it be possible at all for anyone to be punished or doomed? To the Student the absence of eternal punishment contrasts with various scriptural assertions, as he appears unwilling to accept the scenario of an Origenist apocatastasis. If, on the other hand, Christ did not assume all creation and a part of it will be damned, there arises not just a contradiction with divine authority,²³ but also

 $^{^{21}\,}$ 'Gnostic' here should be read in the sense of cognitive or noetic rather than having to do with Gnosticism.

⁹² PP V 923C, CCCM 165: 89 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 597–98): Proinde si dei uerbum humanitatem accepit, non partem eius, quae nulla est, sed uniuersaliter totam accepit.... In nullo enim damnat deus quod fecit, sed quod non fecit punit. Nam et praeuaricantium angelorum naturam non punit nec puniturus est; illorum uero malitiam et impietatem nociuamque potentiam, quemadmodum et malorum hominum eis adhaerentium, extinguet. Et fortassis illorum erit aeterna damnatio suae malitiae impietatisque uniuersalis abolitio.

²³ In a marginal gloss to the text appropriate scriptural references are cited here, e.g. 1 Cor. 15:26 about the destruction of death.

with right reason for, as Eriugena made clear in Book I,²⁴ since nothing is co-eternal with God, nothing exists which can remain in permanent opposition to divine goodness, life, and blessedness.

The Master takes the Student by the hand again as they embark on a discussion of the divine mind, which does not contain evil. In PP V 925D-926A he states:

The Divine Mind, then, knows no evil and no sin. For if He did, they would have substantial existences, and would not be without a cause. As it is, however, they have no cause, and therefore are not essentially in the number of created natures, and consequently are quite alien to the Divine Knowledge.... God, then, does not know wicked angels or wicked men or any transgressors of His Law.²⁵

God knows their substances, the Student clarifies, but not what is added to them as a result of their perverse motions, which are by nature accidental. Being persuaded to accept humanity's salvation through Christ, the Student continues to question the process by which the rest of creation is saved. In PP V 927B a follow-up exchange between Student and Master ensues:

S. But convinced as I now am about human nature, I am still uncertain whether it is in every creature that evil shall be done away with, or only in human nature. For I am of the opinion that the demonic intelligences shall never be without evil and all its consequences; and therefore while granting that, by the bestowal of the grace of God in cooperation with natural virtue, evil shall be wholly eliminated from the nature of man, I think that in that of the demons it will endure forever, and will be coeternal therein with the Divine Goodness.

M. I think you have not yet quite grasped the fact that God punishes no creature created by Him, whether in human or demonic nature; but that in all natures He punishes what He has not created, i.e., the irrational motions of the perverse will.²⁶

²⁴ In Book I Eriugena stated that there can exist no principle co-eternal with the divine, who alone is *anarchos* (without beginning). This reasoning allows him to explain the need to resort to the language of negative theology. If one predicates names of God like 'goodness' in literal fashion, it would imply not only that they exist but that their opposites have existence as well. Since there is nothing that can exist opposite God, the divine names must be metaphorical. See PP I 458C–460B, CCCM 161: 27–29.

²⁵ PP V 925D-926A, CCCM 161: 93 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 601): N. Diuinus itaque animus nullum malum nullamque malitiam nouit. Nam si nosset, substantialiter extitissent neque causa carerent.... Deus itaque impios nescit et angelos et homines omnesque diuinae legis praeuaricatores.

²⁶ PP V 927B, ĈCCM 165: 95-96 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 602-03): A. Adhuc tamen delibero, securus iam de humanitate factus, utrum uniuersaliter in

In an attempt to convince his recalcitrant Student, the Master defends his position by invoking broad patristic support. He first turns to Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* XI 20.27–21.28, where Augustine stated that God made all things good, including the devil who fell by his own free will.²⁷ Next the Master turns to Ambrose's *Exposition of the Gospel of Luke* VI 46 about the demons requesting Christ to be sent into the swine of Gerasa (Lk. 8: 32). According to Ambrose these demons knew that they would be punished, but they entered the swine to prolong their existence out of fear for the torments which they justly deserved. Finally the Master gives a lengthy quotation from Origen's *On First Principles* III 6.2–5 about how God will be all in all, which hence implies the total annihilation of evil. Weaving all his authorities together and adding his beloved Dionysius by way of climax and conclusion, he gives the following summary in PP V 930D–934C:

Thus, what Ambrose left in doubt, Origen makes clear. For when Ambrose says 'We are taught that the demons shall not remain forever, lest their evil should be eternal,' it is uncertain whether he means that the substances of the demons shall perish together with their evil, or only the evil on account of which they are called demons, while their nature remains incorruptible. But Origen unhesitatingly affirms that in demons the substance created by God shall abide forever, while the evil which is found in their perverse will shall perish eternally. For the expressions 'demon,' 'devil,' 'the enemy,' and 'death' are not applicable to the nature but to the evil will. Therefore St Augustine has taught you that 'in the Devil God shall punish not that which He created but that which He did not create;' and Origen that the substance of the Devil shall never be done away with, but only his evil. And to convince yourself more surely of this read what the great Dionysius the Areopagite says in the book On the Divine Names, where he argues that there is no evil in the nature of the demons, and that that nature can neither be corrupted nor diminished.... (934B) St Dionysius teaches then that the demons are not evil in what they are, for they derive from the Highest Good and

omni creatura malitia abolebitur, an in sola humanitate. Aestimo nanque, diabolicos animos nunquam malitia omnibusque eam consequentibus carituros. Ac per hoc, licet in sola humanitate dono diuinae gratiae naturalique uirtute cooperatrice malitia penitus aboleatur, in daemonum tamen natura sine fine perseueraturam puto; et in ipsis diuinae bonitati coaeterna erit. N. Nondum clare perspicis, ut opinor, deum nullam creaturam quam fecit punire nec in humana nec in daemonum substantia, sed quod non fecit in omnibus punit, hoc est irrationabiles peruersae uoluntatis motus.

²⁷ This same point was discussed earlier in PP IV 809D–810B with reference to Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* XI.23.30. See my *The Anthropology of Johannes Scottus Eriugena* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 48.

participate of the Highest Essence; but they are called evil because of what they are not.²⁸

The Master compresses the combined arguments on demons to his Student in the following statement from PP V 934D-935A:

You have seen then that the nature of demons is both good and a creation of the highest Good, and that it is on account not of what they are but of what they are not that they are called evil. From this it follows with natural necessity that the only part of them which is permanent and which is never to be punished is that in them which is created by the Most High God; while that in them which is not of God, that is, their wickedness, will be done away with, lest evil come into existence in any creature whatsoever, whether human or angelic, everlasting and coeternal with the good.²⁹

Given that Eriugena's arguments on demons are indissolubly connected with the work's description of nature's return, it is the realization of that return that hangs in the balance here. While the expression 'natural necessity' (*naturali necessitate*) seems to refer to the intellectual flow and coherence of the *Periphyseon*'s chapter on demons, it appears to reach beyond it at the same time. As Book V progresses, it becomes

²⁹ PP V 934D–935A, CCCM 165: 105 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 611): Vidisti ergo quod natura daemonum et bona sit et a summo bono facta, et quod non secundum quod sunt, sed secundum quod non sunt mali dicuntur. Ac per hoc naturali necessitate sequitur quod in eis est a summo Deo factum solummodo in eis permansurum, nullo modoque puniendum, quod autem ex Deo non est (hoc est illorum malitia) periturum, ne in aliqua creatura, siue humana siue angelica, malitia possit fieri perpetua et bonitati coaeterna.

²⁸ PP V 930D-934C, CCCM 165: 100-04 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 606-610): Itaque quod Ambrosius in ambiguo reliquerat, Origenes declarat. Nam quod ille ait: "Docemur, quod non semper daemonia manebunt, ne malitia eorum possit esse perpetua", dubium est quid uelit, utrum substantia daemonum simul et eorum malitiae periturae sint, an solummodo malitia, qua sola daemonia uocantur, manente eorum incorruptibiliter natura. Iste uero indubitanter astruit quod in ipsis substantia a deo facta semper permansura, malitia uero peruersa illorum uoluntate reperta in aeternum peritura. Talia siquidem nomina daemonum, diabolus, nouissimus inimicus et mors, non sunt naturae, sed prauae uoluntatis uocabula. Audisti igitur sanctum Augustinum dicentem, quod deus in diabolo non quod fecit, sed quod non fecit puniturus est; audisti Origenem affirmantem diaboli substantiam nunquam perituram, sed eius solummodo malitiam. Et ut hoc firmius et credas et cognoscas, lege magnum Dionysium Areopagitam in libro De diuinis nominibus de eo, quod in natura daemonum malum non sit, eamque nullo modo corrumpi uel minui posse disputantem.... (PP V 934 B) Docet etiam daemones non secundum quod sunt malos esse—ex optimo enim sunt optimaeque participes essentiae—sed secundum quod non sunt, mali dicuntur. Et quid in eis malum dicitur? Aperte declarat, infirmitatem uidelicet eorum, qua seruare suum nolunt principium (summum scilicet bonum, ex quo sunt)....

of crucial importance for the success of the *Periphyseon* as a whole that Eriugena be able to accomplish the return. Just as in Book 1 he could not tolerate a principle co-eternal with God the creator, who alone is 'without beginning' (*anarchos*),³⁰ since that would have blocked the unfolding of *processio*, nature's return to God as final cause dictates likewise that there cannot be a principle co-eternal with God at the end. The return must match the procession in all respects.

In conformity with Eriugena's anthropological funneling of the salvation of creation as a result of the incarnation, all things must first return to their cause in human nature which, having itself been defined not just as a rational animal created on the sixth day but as 'an eternal cause made in the divine mind' will thereupon complete the return to God.³¹ Since evil has no substantial existence in his Augustinian-Dionysian view, evil will perish. As Eriugena states in PP V 935B:

For when humanity is restored in the resurrection, it shall be purged of all impiety and damnation and death. Therefore there shall be no resurrection of the evil and the wicked. For only nature shall rise again, but evil and wickedness shall perish in eternal damnation.³²

It is interesting that nature (*natura*) surfaces as a deeply polyvalent presence here. In addition to referring to individual natures and the nature of the universe, it also touches on the Pauline contrast between the form of this world (*figura*; 1 Cor. 7:31) that will perish and its nature that will not,³³ while including more than a veiled reference to *natura* as the overall object of the *Periphyseon*'s story. That story, however, is as much Eriugena's creation as that of the divine.

The crucial test for the success of nature's return—and of the entire *Periphyseon*, for these two goals increasingly merge—comes when Eriugena broaches the issue of punishment and hell. While it is true that he can deny evil's substantive nature all that he will, such denials do

³⁰ See above n. 24.

³¹ In PP IV 768B (CCCM 164: 40) Eriugena defined humanity as a *notio quaedam intellectualis in mente diuina aeternaliter facta*. This definition of humanity as a so-called primordial cause, an idea in the Divine Word, corresponds with his statement that intellectual causes are more real than physical ones. See above n. 19.

³² PP V 935B, CCCM 165: 105 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 611): Nam quando humanitas in resurrectione restaurabitur, omni impietate et malitia et morte absoluetur. Ac per hoc neque mali, neque impii resurgent. Sola siquidem natura resurget, impietas uero et malitia aeterna damnatione peribunt.

³³ See PP V 866D, CCCM 165: 11, with reference to Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XX.14.

not make evil's negative effects disappear.³⁴ Their repeated scriptural mention serves as a reminder to take them very seriously. In reaction Eriugena once again conjures up the collective support of patristic testimony to uphold his own reading of such scriptural passages, stating in PP V 936A–B:

It is our belief that the various kinds of punishment will not be found localized in any place anywhere in the whole of this visible universe, or, to be succinct, anywhere within the length and breadth of the nature which is created by God.... For although the lust and fever of evil-doing will always be present in perverse wills, seeing that the object of lust can never be attained, and the flame of evil will have nothing but itself to consume, what else is left but stinking corpses lacking all vital motion, lacking, that is, all substance and potency of natural goods? And here it is, perhaps, that we have the most severe torments of evil men and evil angels, the lust for evil combined with the impossibility of assuaging it either before or after the Day of Judgment.³⁵

As before he turns to Ambrose's *Exposition on Luke* to illustrate his point, with Ambrose likening the gnashing of teeth of those condemned to outer darkness to remorse and to the agony of the unworthy whose repentance came too late. In PP V 937B Eriugena counsels us to interpret the scriptural punishment of Judas, of the rich man who lacked compassion for the poor Lazarus, and of king Herod who slew the innocent in this same vein:

And as to the punishment of the perverse wills of the demons, what should we think it to be but the eternal bridle that holds them in check, and the eternal destruction of their wickedness? For what worse

³⁴ In his chapter on Origen in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Theology*, ed. A.H. Armstrong (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). Henry Chadwick points out how 'Christians could not happily use the Neoplatonist theodicy that evil is a privation of good. Biblical language about the devil and personal experience ensured that Christian theology must recognize evil as a positive force, a *depravatio* rather than only a *deprivatio*' (182).

³⁵ PP V 936 A-B, CCCM 165: 106-07 (transl. Sheldon-Williams, 612-13): Diuersas suppliciorum formas non localiter in quadam parte uel in toto huius uisibilis creaturae et, ut simpliciter dicam, neque intra uniuersitatem totius naturae a Deo conditae futuras esse credimus.... Quamuis enim in peruersis uoluntatibus peruerse agendi appetitus ardorque semper permanserit, quoniam quod appetitur, perfici non sinitur et in nullo, nisi in semet ipsa, flamma maleuolae cupiditatis ardet, quid aliud relinquitur, nisi foetida cadauera, omni uitali motu (hoc est omni naturalium bonorum uirtute atque substantia) priuata? Et fortassis tales sunt grauissimi cruciatus malorum hominum et angelorum, et ante iudicium futurum, et post, male faciendi cupiditas et perficiendi difficultas. Follows a quotation from Ambrose's *Exposition in Luke* VII.204-206.

punishment can the wicked suffer than the incapability of actualizing his wickedness or of doing harm to anyone?³⁶

Evil becomes ultimately transformed into the will to do evil but the inability to actualize it, after which it reflects a mere state of impotence in the specific sense of the failure to do harm. Eriugena connects the incapacity to realize evil deeds back to Christ's incarnation. For in the same way as Adam abandoned his spiritual generation into a state of deification, so Christ through his Incarnation restored both Adam's and humanity's spiritual sonship. The incarnation, for the interpretation of which Eriugena leans heavily on the theology of Maximus Confessor, its post-Nicene character offsetting any Origenist tendencies, makes him interpret the devil's impotence and his greatest torment in the final analysis as a case of envy, not of God but of humanity as its prey. Thus he states in PP V 938A–B:

And it is envy because of this [scil. the restoration effected by Christ's Incarnation] which is the greatest torment the Devil suffers within himself. For he is tortured by the sight of the great general resurrection of the human substance, and in it of all visible things into an immutable immortality, by which they have eluded his clutches, although he had decreed that their substance should be surrendered to him for imprisonment and utter destruction, and that it should be kept in the pains of eternal death and everlasting torment. For when the mutability of fleshly birth and passing away shall have come to an end, wherein shall be found the power of the Ancient Enemy? Nowhere.³⁷

It is the term 'nowhere' or rather 'in nothing/no one' (*in nullo*) that sparks the concluding exchange on the issue, as the Student professes to be unclear as to who or what will receive the punishments. For does the Bible not assign punishments to sinners too and not just to the devil? It is, as the Student goes on, no longer the corporeality, locality or temporality of the punishments that he questions, as by now he is

³⁶ PP V 937 B, CCCM 165: 108 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 614): De diabolicarum uero peruersarum uoluntatum supplicio quid aliud intelligendum, praeter illarum aeternam refrenationem suaeque impietatis aeternum interitum? Quae enim grauior poena impio, quam impie agere et neminem laedere posse?

³⁷ PP V 938 Å–B, ČCCM 165: 109 (transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 615): Et haec est inuidia, qua maxime intra semet ipsam diabolica punitur iniquitas. Torquetur enim, magnam communemque resurrectionem humanae substantiae omniumque in ea uisibilium in immutabilem immortalitatem, deque sua potestate elapsam perspiciens, quam (uidelicet substantiam) subditam sibi atque captiuam penitus abolere inque aeterna morte perpetuis poenis obnoxiam detinere decreuerat. Dum enim uicissitudo nascendi ex corporibus et in corruptionem redeundi desierit, in quo potestas antiqui hostis remanebit? In nullo.

swayed by the arguments brought forth on these issues, but he wants to know where they can be found. The answer 'in nullo' still implies a container of some kind, even when the punishments themselves are mere accidents. In other words, how can the torments of the damned exist without a subject to exist in, which will hence be afflicted?

The Master acknowledges the problem and tabulates three possible choices, of which only one can be accepted. The first is that that which itself has no existence in nature will in the absence of any subject be punished in itself, a proposition which reason cannot endorse. The second option entails that a natural subject will undergo punishment, but this option must also be rejected, since all that God has made is by definition good. The third and final option is that that which is punished does not exist in itself but becomes punished in a subject that exists even as it is itself free from, and therefore not affected by, the punishment.

Choosing the final option as an acceptable combination of the earlier two the Student still seems confused at his Master's conclusion. Leaving henceforth all talk of demons behind, the two interlocutors shift their focus to the role and return of humanity. Before embarking on this new topic, however, the Master rounds off their earlier discussion in PP V 941A–B:

We are speaking about the Return of human nature, and of all things which are created in it and for it, in it and with it into its First Cause. For I am not discussing now the substance of the demons, which the creator of all things created in them good and indestructible, nor am I enquiring as to whether that nature too when it is purged shall be brought back to its First Cause which by its transgression it abandoned, or whether it is to persist in its perversity and refuse to contemplate the Truth forever. With regard to that let us for the time being be content to be assured of this: that the demonic nature itself is not punished nor ever shall be punished but that the glory of its primal state before it waxed proud and seduced mankind abides in it eternally and immutably without any diminution and shall ever so abide; while the wickedness which it contracted through pride shall be totally destroyed lest it should be coeternal with the Goodness of God. But concerning its salvation and its conversion or Return into its proper Cause we presume to say nothing, for this reason: that we have no certain knowledge of it either from sacred scriptures or from the Holy Fathers that have dealt with this matter, and therefore we prefer to honor its obscurity with silence, lest in searching into matters which are beyond us we should rather fall into error than ascend into the Truth. Let us, then, rather, by God's aid, pursue our enquiries into a matter which does not lie beyond us, namely, our own nature.38

³⁸ PP V 941 A-B, CCCM 165: 113, transl. Sheldon-Williams/O'Meara, 618: De reditu humanitatis, omniumque, quae in ipsa et propter ipsam facta sunt, in ipsa et

ERIUGENA ON DEMONS: PRESSING THE CASE OF RETURN

At the end of this essay I want to formulate a few conclusions from Eriugena's chapter on demons. These touch on their nature, on evil, as well as on the meaning of the demonic and the human body.

My first point concerns the interpretation of Eriugena by Bynum and others as a spiritualizing alternative, with Origenist overtones, to the mainstream western tradition. Although Bynum reserves this qualification for his view of the resurrection, which provides her at the same time with the criterium for it, I want to address the point more generally. In my view the assessment of Eriugena as Origenist has to contend with two complications, the first of which regards the position of Origen himself, while the second addresses how such an assessment lifts Eriugena out of his Carolingian context,³⁹ turning him into a dehistoricized, quasi-heretical Greek thinker.

As for the second point, it is important to point out that Eriugena is much more influenced by Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor than by Origen. While reservations concerning his position on bodily resurrection, in the context of which he quotes Origen, may indeed linger, they only go so far in elucidating his position, especially as far as it links body and identity. In the larger discussion of the return to God in which the reference to Origen is implicated, the influence of Gregory and Maximus is far more dominant. Uniting and solidifying their combined voices in the *Periphyseon* is the paradigmatic anchoring of man's creation and fall in the pattern of procession and return, with the incarnation serving as a theological lens through which to

cum ipsa in principium suum tractamus. Non enim nunc de substantia daemonum, quam conditor omnium bonam et incorruptibilem in eis fecit, sermo nobis est, utrum et ipsa purgata conuertetur ad principium suum quod praeuaricando deseruit, an semper a contemplatione ueritatis sua peruersitate exorbata fugiet. Hoc interim solummodo ad purum de ea cognoscimus, quod non punitur nec unquam punietur, et quod dignitas suae primae conditionis priusquam superbiret hominemque deciperet semper immutabiliter absque ulla demptione in ea manet manebitque in aeternum, et quod impietas quam superbiendo attraxerat penitus peribit, ne diuinae bonitati coaeterna fieri possit. De salute autem eius aut conuersione seu in causam suam reditu propterea nihil definire praesumimus, quoniam neque diuinae historiae neque sanctorum patrum qui eam exposuere, certam de hoc auctoritatem habemus. Atque ideo illam obscuritatem silentio honorificamus, ne forte quae extra nos sunt quaerere conantes plus cadere in errorem quam ascendere in ueritatem nobis contingat. Proinde quod extra nos non est (naturam nostram dico) duce deo quaerere debemus.

³⁹ In Bynum this is reinforced by the fact that he is treated as an introduction to Honorius, and put in a twelfth-century rather than a Carolingian context.

envisage his passage to return.⁴⁰ To see humanity's return as conditioned and facilitated by the incarnation, which for obvious historical reasons is not found in Origen, underscores the post-Nicene character of Gregory and Maximus. It clearly colors Eriugena's reading of salvation, which the *Periphyseon* throughout elaborates in terms of a return to paradise. Eriugena's endorsement of an incarnational theology thus overrides his actual Origenist stance, so to speak, so that he can hardly be called an Origenist.

To get a clearer view of Eriugena's position on the human body, we should further realize that, in contradistinction to Origen, and to Gregory to the extent that he follows him, Eriugena at no point considers historical creation the result of sin. Thoroughly influenced by Augustine on this point, he telescopes the two levels, the historical and the allegorical, according to which Origen and to a lesser degree Gregory read Genesis, substituting his own, admittedly complex and convoluted, position instead. In this view, which is partially inspired by Augustine, man was always created with a body, 41 which is a staple of his animal nature. There never was an allegorical Adam in paradise before the fall, but there was always only the sexually differentiated couple Adam and Eve who found themselves in the throes of historical reality, i.e., outside paradise. Still, true to the reformist dimension of his incarnational anthropology, man is better than sex (homo melior est sexu) for Eriugena, 42 as Christ's transcendence of sexual difference in the resurrection makes him not just aim for that same transcendence in humanity's return but, given the centrality of the return, seems to have inspired his account of creation from the beginning, not unlike how he started the return at the beginning of PP IV with the description of humanity's creation. Thus from the beginning of the work Eriugena's take on both creation and redemption hinges on a careful management, at times perhaps a manipulation, of time more

⁴⁰ On the common notion of division and return in Gregory, Maximus, and Eriugena, see E. Jeauneau, 'La division des sexes chez Grégoire de Nysse et chez Jean Scot Erigène,' in *Eriugena. Studien zu seinen Quellen*, ed. W. Beierwaltes (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1980), 33–54, reprinted in E. Jeauneau, *Études érigéniennes* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1987), 341–64.

One may see as convoluted the notion that Eriugena speaks at times about the sinful body as a *corpus superadditum* (cf. PP V803A and 846B, CCCM 164: 86, 148), thus evoking a tension between the spiritual and the material body. In my view, this term is likewise meant to anticipate the dignity of human nature's restored status.

⁴² See PP II 534A, CCCM 162:14.

than a spiritualization or idealization of physical nature.⁴³ This comes out most clearly in his skilful use of prolepsis, as he explains various elements in Genesis 2 perceived as detracting from humanity's dignity such as Eve's creation, dividing up the oneness of human nature, and her temptation by the serpent, as occurrences that happened after humanity's exile from paradise rather than before. 44 This bold exegetical rearrangement of scriptural order culminates in the famous passage at the beginning of PP V, where Eriugena turns God's prohibition that humanity never eat from the tree of life into an effective promise that it will one day eat from this tree and actually enjoy eternal life.⁴⁵

Turning Origen's separation between a material and a spiritual creation into his own quasi-historical restructuring of the order of creation and fall allows Eriugena to bring on the return by crafting it as an ongoing procession, 46 as when he promised that humanity will one day eat from the tree of life. While it is tempting to see the status of the human being's bodily nature as somehow compromised or destabilized by this, as when doubt is cast on its physical resurrection, this is countered by the fact that in Eriugena, unlike in Origen, Adam always had a physical body, the integrity of which is therefore not a problem as such. As it says in a marginal note to one of the manuscripts of Book IV clarifying the distinction between animals and humans: 'Not sin but nature has made man an animal.'47 Rather than seeing humanity as in a kind of limbo, suspended between the material and the spiritual, for Eriugena it is more accurate to see the whole of humanity, its animal being and its character as image of God, on a temporal journey from procession to return. When Eriugena emphasizes the spiritual nature of the resurrection, this statement need therefore not be read as a disparagement of the body which he accepts as historical fact, but underscores humanity's development from procession to

⁴³ This is also my problem with current idealist readings of Eriugena as in Moran, see n. 5 above.

⁴⁴ See W. Otten, 'The Return to Paradise. Role and Function of Early-Medieval Allegories of Nature,' in The Book of Nature in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, ed. A. Vanderjagt and K. van Berkel (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 97–121, esp. 105–12.

45 See PP V861A–B, CCCM 165:3–4.

⁴⁶ This is the thesis of my article 'The Dialectic of the Return in Eriugena's *Periphy*seon,' Harvard Theological Review 84 (1991) 399-421, esp. 412-421.

⁴⁷ See PP IV 763A, n. 13, CCCM 164: 31: Non enim peccatum fecit de homine animal, sed natura. Interestingly, the passage which this note aims to clarify states how angels have spiritual bodies but are therefore not animals, which is hence seen as a human prerogative.

return by way of an upward dynamics, thus holding out the promise of restored dignity over and against its fallen reality. By seeing humanity's transformation as drawing on grace but also on nature, moreover, Eriugena calls on human morality to do its part.

When we finally return to the chapter on demons, it appears they are likewise situated at the cusp where procession extends to, rather than turns into return but, in a move that may foreshadow Anselm rather than mimic Origen, demons at no point seem to play a major part. While they may indeed have spiritual bodies, they are not thereby animals, and find themselves at a fair distance from the special animals that human beings are in whom all of creation is reflected and who carry the image of God. The resulting focus is not on their actual existence, therefore, which is not so much questioned by Eriugena as it is to some extent deemed indifferent, since in line with his general theodicy all created substance must be redeemed, but only to prevent its thwarting of humanity's return. What must still be dealt with is the infinite prolongation of evil. It is hence no surprise that this problem becomes acute in book V, where Eriugena presses on with the return and must deal with this threat.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of his chapter on demons, and the aspect in which they most resemble the fate of evil human beings, is the way in which Eriugena describes both as having the will to do evil but a failure to do harm. More important than his spiritual alternative to the resurrection seems to me this radical disembodiment of hell. But here as elsewhere he is doing nothing more than pursuing the case of return. As humanity soars ever higher in the *Periphyseon*'s flight of the return, mirroring the movement of the eagle at the beginning of the Gospel of John,⁵⁰ there is literally nothing that can clip its wings.

⁴⁸ I am referring here to Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo?* in which human sin is dealt with as a problem between God and humanity with no major role for the devil.

⁴⁹ Mentioning neither Eriugena nor Honorius, Boureau offers an interesting demonological connection here between Eriugena and the twelfth century by referring to the return of Neoplatonism in Bernard Silvestris a.o. It seems indeed as if Eriugena is at least in part indebted to the ancient *daimones*, described by Boureau as natural and supernatural forces not connected to Satan, whose heritage was passed down with the Dionysian legacy (Boureau, *Satan*, 97–98). Yet his strong incarnational drive remains important.

⁵⁰ See *Homélie sur le Prologue de Jean* XIV, ed. E. Jeauneau, SC 151 (Paris: Editions du Cerf), 268–270.

HORROR VACUI: EVIL IN THE INCARNATED WORLD OF THE BIBLES MORALISÉES

Babette Hellemans

I that was near your heart was removed therefrom To lose beauty in terror, terror in inquisition

T.S. Eliot, Gerontion (1919)

Introduction

The present article will examine the analogical relation between goodbeauty and evil-ugly. The phenomenon of analogy and the fundamental antithesis of good and evil, after all, always contradict the relation we are accustomed to, which is inscribed in language if not in the nature of things. The Gothic proliferation of images, for instance, remains haunted by the values it contests. Obscurity is exalted as light, blindness is defined in terms of vision, and evil always constitutes a secret homage to beauty.2 The shadow at the bottom of the abyss is another light. The basis for almost all medieval demonology is provided by Saint Paul (Eph. 6:11-18) who describes the plurality of satanic appearances as liquid and without substance.³ The devil as such is not essentially uniform, but multiform—the demonic is not focused, but a kind, a genre. In any case, the conceptual assimilation in which the devil, representing 'evil', is often found depicted, taints him with the notion of 'multiple'—subdivided into categories such as demons, enemies, or heretics. The opposition between 'bodies of Christ' and 'bodies of the devil' leads to an interpretative framework

¹ I want to thank the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for their generous permission to publish two reproductions of ms. ÖNB 2554.

² Cf. for instance the paragraph on Saint Paul on the road to Damascus ('L'intensité de la lumière'), in *La Bible Moralisée: une oeuvre à part entière. Temporalité, sémiotique et Création au XIII^e siècle (Brepols: Turnhout, 2010), 180–185.*

³ For a general overview, cf. Alain Boureau, Satan the Heretic. The Birth of Demonology in the Medieval West, transl. T. Lavender Fagan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Jeffrey Burton Russell, Lucifer. The Devil in the Middle Ages (reimpr. paperback; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

in which the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of evil are as much intermingled as they are ultimately opposed. Just as Christ is the head of the Church and the believers are its members (*membra*) or 'body', so there is an equal and opposite 'body' of the devil. Right from the beginning of Christianity, it seemed as if the devil was necessary, so to speak, to fight heresy, especially dualism.⁴ The human condition is by consequence symbolized by disfigurement and the devil adapts his appearance in the eyes of the beholder: he is a *spiritus multiformis*.

By focusing on the characteristics of *horror vacui*, that is, the fear or dislike of leaving empty spaces in an artistic composition, I will try to shed new light on the multiple 'faces of evil'. Rather than examining the physicality of the devil as a monster, I will put him in a broader cultural field of investigation. Furthermore, it is in my view necessary to be polemical about a subject such as 'the devil'. Let me say a few words about the academic background of my approach. Most readers of this volume will probably belong to departments of history, classics, theology, literature or art-history. However, such departments are relatively recent creations. The Middle Ages, for instance, had nothing of the sort. Because of this significant historical discrepancy, I consider my problem a methodological one in the widest sense: an interest in, and some ability to, manipulate abstract ideas and concepts (such as 'good' vs. 'bad', 'God' vs. 'the devil'). The notion of the arts in the medieval sense of artes liberales may be helpful in order to describe this thinking process in which intellectual culture was indistinguishably intertwined with Christian religion.

As a test case, this article will focus on a single family of objects: the so-called *Bibles Moralisées*.⁵ Although a clear-cut historical background of these manuscripts is not available, *communis opinio* has it that they were made for the kings and queens of France and their relatives between the thirteenth and fifteenth century. The four thirteenth-century *Bibles Moralisées*, which are the first of its kind, were

⁴ 'Daemonologie,' in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. L. Lutz et al. (Munich: Artemis 1977–1999), vol. 3, cols. 481–482.

⁵ The term *Bible Moralisée* is not the original name of this kind of manuscript, but an invention of the sixteenth century. The term indicates only a specific 'genealogy of manuscripts' characterized by a large number of interrelated images and texts, representing both biblical paraphrase and commentary. Cf. Richard H. Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers. Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000), vols. 1 and 2.

all produced in Paris before the 1250s. They are clearly distinguishable from other illuminated manuscripts because of their seemingly infinite number of pictures. Every page of a *Bible Moralisée* has eight quite small roundels, arranged in two columns of four images, see figure 1. At the top of each column there is a biblical image, accompanied by a paraphrased biblical text. Both are paired with an exegetical text and image located beneath. The repetition of this scheme over hundreds of pages and the resulting fourfold interrelated biblical and exegetical scenes are what characterize the *Bible Moralisée*. In addition, every *Bible Moralisée* includes a distinctive frontispiece, representing God as the Maker of the Universe (*deus artifex*). Thus, these Bibles represent both the act of creation (illustrated by the image of the frontispiece in figure 2) and creation itself, framed as an episode in the History of Salvation.

If we are to 'read' these Bibles, we have to think of reading in medieval, that is, performative terms. Reading, far more than being the digestion or reception of a simple, linear flow of information as we think of it today, implicated the whole body and mind in a process of active participation. Considering a wider range of objects as 'texts' to be read may subsequently allow us to illuminate broader discussions in the field of interdisciplinary scholarship. After all, for the modern reader, images and 'artefacts' from the past are usually considered the endpoint of a process. But what if the act of 'medieval reading' is not moving towards an endpoint in itself (in our case, the need for a fixed imagination of the devil)? Would it not be possible to interpret the act of reading as an act of *recreating*, equivocal as the term might be? None other than the twelfth-century John of Salisbury described this ambiguous position of the medieval reader perfectly well:

The word 'reading' is equivocal (aequivocum est). It may refer either to the activity of teaching and being taught, or to the occupation of studying written things (scripturas) by oneself. Consequently, the former, the intercommunication between the teacher and learner, may be termed—to use Quintillian's word—the 'lecture' (praelectio, cf. 'Vorlesung'); the latter, or the scrutiny by the student, the 'reading' (lectio) simply so called.'

⁶ For the dating and codicological aspects of these manuscripts, I follow John Lowden, *The Making of the* Bibles Moralisées, vols. 1 and 2 (State College, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2000).

⁷ John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 1.24, ed. J.B. Hall, CCCM 98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 51: Sed quia legendi verbum aequivocum est, tam ad docentis et discentis

Salisbury's description of reading describes communication as a dynamic process involving mutuality. The problem at stake for the 'subject-reader' who wants to 'recognize' the devil as a monolithic object, cannot so easily be framed in terms of images and words. Likewise, images cannot work as simple alternatives of words or supplements of texts—they have their own power. Taking the multi-scenic narration of the *Bible Moralisée* as my object of study, I will try to show how an analysis of 'dynamic reading' can serve as a springboard to inquire into broader cultural issues—the existence of evil and its representation. Our guiding principle will be to investigate the symbolic value of the devil, not a dogmatic request for an image or some kind of antithetic monster such as the one depictured in the fascinating *Devil's Bible* (Swedish Royal Library, Codex Gigas, fol. 290r), and created in the same period as the thirteenth century *Bible Moralisée*.

'SLIDE SHOW': THE BIBLE MORALISÉE AND ITS TRANSPARENCIES

There are some visual experiences that are quite easy to imitate, whether for esthetical purposes or for cartoon-like mockery. Because of their singularity, however, they cannot be described with words. In my view the 'reading' of a thirteenth-century *Bible Moralisée* is one such case (cf. figure 3).8 These Bibles—if this would indeed be the right word to typify the objects—linger in the visual memory: once seen, they are exasperatingly difficult to forget. They are often said to be the manu-

exercitium quam ad occupationem per se scrutantis scripturas, alterum, id est quod inter doctorem et discipulum communicatur, ut verbo utamur Quintiliani dicatur praelectio. Alterum quod ad scrutinium meditantis accedit, lectio simpliciter appelletur; trans. Daniel D. McGarry, *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury; A Twelfth Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), 65–66 (quotations and bracketed references by the author of this article).

⁸ When compared to the three other thirteenth century *Bibles Moralisées*, the layout of ms. ÖNB 2554 is slightly different. If the interaction between image and text therefore causes a distinct kind of 'reading', the dynamics of the reading experience of all four manuscripts is similar, creating an *interactive* understanding of a semiotic reading of language and signs. As a consequence, the temporality of reading a *Bible Moralisée* is not linear. Nor do the temporal features represent a narrative with a plot. By stressing the importance of a dynamic semiotic reading I intend to show that verbal references and their shape are made mutually responsive and that understanding these signs is part of the reader's experience. It is within this performative moment that the idiosyncrasy of temporal experience of reading a *Bible Moralisée* is to be found.

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script equivalent of Gothic cathedrals, representing the history of salvation in thousands of pictures (literally tens of thousands of images counting the four thirteenth-century Bibles Moralisées altogether). The first two copies especially, now in Vienna, have been subjected to investigation and are generally considered a paragon of typological exegesis as well as a paradigm of the thirteenth century's biblical mentality. As has been pointed out, these manuscripts with their overwhelming cascade of images are especially remarkable because of their consistent and symmetric layout—symmetry being very important in twelfth- and thirteenth-century visual culture. The spine of the 'open book' serves as the central axis of a cathedral building, as it were, evoking the three-dimensional aspect of the book.9 Here, 'flesh' of a different kind lies open in the form of a codex. This is not the 'Book of Life' we can observe in the apocalyptic imagery of medieval judgment portals, which typically reveal both the good and bad deeds of sinners. Rather the knowledge of this book, like a tympanum, is open to interpretation.¹⁰

The four *Bibles Moralisées* of the thirteenth century were used to underscore the Christian features of Capetian kingship, culminating in the earned epithet of *rex christianissimus* by the saintly Louis IX. This 'small coterie of royal viewers [...] passed the books down from one generation to the next with awareness of their dynastic significance.'¹¹ No costs were spared to manufacture these very large volumes which were produced in the shadow of the Notre Dame by the finest artists of Paris:

The Moralized Bible in its four copies constitutes the major monument produced by the commercial book trade in Paris. In scope and in employment of personnel there was nothing comparable before or after, in the commercial production of manuscript books at Paris. It is reasonable to suppose that the demand for quite large numbers of illuminators and scribes to work on the Moralized Bibles provided a fundamental impetus to the early book trade.¹²

⁹ Cf. Hellemans, La Bible Moralisée, 31-90, see above n. 2.

¹⁰ Michael Camille, 'Visual Signs of the Sacred Page: Books in the *Bible Moralisée*,' *Word & Image* 5 (1989) 111-130.

¹¹ Cf. Lowden, The Making of the Bibles Moralisées, vol. 1, 52.

¹² Rouse and Rouse, Manuscripts and their Makers, 33. Cf. above n. 4.

The first (ms. Vienna, ÖNB 2554) should be dated somewhere between 1220 and 1230.¹³ This exemplar was probably intended for a member of the French court circles of king Louis VIII and his wife Blanche of Castile; both the biblical paraphrases and the commentaries are written in Old French. At approximately the same time a similar but much more extensive manuscript written in Latin was made (ms. Vienna, ÖNB 1179).¹⁴ This Bible was possibly made for the same person to whom the vernacular *Bible Moralisée* (ms. ÖNB 2554) belonged.¹⁵ Some ten years later, two related but much extended Bibles of three volumes each, were made.¹⁶ The composition and the concept of these two later *Bibles Moralisées* are identical to the two early manuscripts. They are mainly written in Latin, but parts of the Gospels, composed as a *Diatessaron*, are bilingual (Latin and Old French).¹⁷

The four *Bibles Moralisées* are pervaded with topics reminiscent of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Familiar themes of this important council, such as heresy, the presence of the mendicant orders, baptism and the celebration of the Eucharist, the emphasis on dogmatic claims of orthodoxy, all occur in the images on a frequent basis. ¹⁸ I will return to this shortly. Because of the overwhelming content of interconnected images and texts, which form a jumble without a narrative and without much plot, all four thirteenth-century *Bibles Moralisées* can best be approached as the result of complex arrangements in which semantic fields were developed within a kaleidoscopic composition, thereby evoking a kind of 'shifting semiotics'. ¹⁹ Such an approach has the advantage of calling our attention to the impressive advance planning and long-term coordination between the scribes, illuminators,

¹³ Ibidem

¹⁴ John Lowden: 'a date for Vienna 1179 after Vienna 2554, and in the latter parts of the bracket c. 1220–26, seems very probable,' in *The Making of the* Bibles Moralisées, vol. 1, 94.

¹⁵ Lowden, The Making of the Bibles Moralisées, 94ff.

¹⁶ Mss. Toledo, Cathedral Treasury, 3 vols. + New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 240 and mss. Oxford Bodl. Libr., Bodley 270b + Paris BnF lat. 11560 + London B.L. Harley 1526–1527.

¹⁷ François Bœspflug and Yolanta Załuska, 'Les évangiles dans la Bible Moralisée et le Diatessaron Latin,' in *Magistro et Amico, amici discipulique. Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, ed. J. Gadomski et al. (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2002), 427–445.

¹⁸ Alessia Trivellone discusses the imagery of heresy in the *Bibles Moralisées* to a great extent, see *L'hérétique imaginé*. *Hétérodoxie et iconographie dans l'Occident médiéval de l'époque carolingienne à l'Inquisition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

¹⁹ Cf. Hellemans, La Bible Moralisée: une œuvre à part entière, chapter 3.

parchment makers and, most of all, their inventors that must have preceded the actual creation of these Bibles.²⁰ And yet, in spite of the *Bible Moralisées*' great importance, we still know very little about the actual aim of these manuscripts. They probably circulated in the 'royal circle', but their exact *raison d'être* is unknown.

The complex reality which these *Bibles Moralisées* represent, existing as they did both inside and outside this world, may help us to better understand their intentionality. The Bibles Moralisées were probably rarely if ever picked up for the purpose of actual reading—in that sense their essence is closer to that of sacred objects than that of other books. Whether they depict the superiority of artistry over learning, the split between a Neoplatonic worldview and the new Aristotelian learning, the dangers of heresy versus God's authority: the depiction found in them is first and foremost structured as a society, and is essentially indecisive in nature. The designers were working according to a pictorial dialectics, rooted in chiasms, and they made ample rhetorical use of opposing figures and forms. This discordant element, embedded within a strict symmetric composition, makes it necessary to elaborate further on the modes of viewing to which these Bibles invite their readers. To open up the kind of landscape these books adopt, and to understand something of the world behind the scenery, as made flesh in it, one really needs a bird's eye view.²¹ This kind of 'reading', both metaphorical as well as literally cross-boundary, has direct repercussions for our understanding of the 'multiform aspect of evil'. The problem of how the various representations of evil relate to what lies outside them can probably never be exhausted. This observation reflects a perennial reality, since representations of evil are a concentration of that society's dynamics, and in that sense they contain society itself. The more pertinent question to ask, therefore, is to what extent a representation of the devil himself can be an effective 'anti-sacrament'. To what extent can the devil be successful in depicting absence in creation by serving as a kind of ambulant conjunction

²⁰ Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 32–65 and 157–177; Lowden, op. cit., vol. 1.

²¹ One of the points of departure has to be, in that case, that within a medieval setting we consider the existence of evil from a historical-anthropological point of view: humankind gives shape to its existence. This starting point is not a moral attitude, however, but a technical problem in the broader sense I pointed out in the introduction (that is, within the realm of *the arts*).

between earth and hell, or a shadowy mirror image of the saint moving between earth and heaven? Is it not true that the devil as a *symbol* of evil must in the end participate in the same endless expressiveness of things in the world?

CHANGE IN AN INCARNATED WORLD

With symbols one generally creates tension between the sense that something has in the world—the devil, for example—and all the different meanings its presence conjures up: evil. It should now become progressively clear why a subject such as the devil can really only be treated in a polemical way. The late twelfth and thirteenth century saw an increasingly intense and polemical debate about the nature of Christianity, touching on the complex of body and soul, on original sin, and the Eucharist. In this debate, the relationship between the part and the whole, situated within a process of metamorphosis, became ever more crucial. The devil as a monster came to represent the transition (transitus) from one state to another, from imagery to the metaphysical concept of evil, a process which is always liable to change in a medieval sense. It has often been stated that the diabolic creatures in the Bibles Moralisées must be located against the backdrop of the war against heresy, and hence bespeak an attitude of anti-Judaism.²² As far as their central theological purpose goes, the proliferation of images and their connection to the eucharistic debates in the thirteenth century have often been explained in light of their value as a proposed alternative to Catharism.²³ However, focussing merely on Catharism, anti-Judaism and so forth, as representing the threat of heterodoxies and explaining the success of Lateran IV, might give us too limited an explanation. For in my opinion a broader interest in physicality, emerging in the thirteenth century, is at issue.²⁴ In order to understand the unstable significance of symbols and 'anti-symbols' such as the devil in a more fundamental way, I want to discuss the problem of the

²² Sarah Lipton, *Images of Intolerance. The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the* Bibles Moralisées (Berkeley 1991); idem, 'Jews, Heretics and the Sign of the Cat in the *Bibles Moralisées*,' in *Word & Image* 8 (1992), 362–377.

²³ Trivellone, L'hérétique imaginée, above n. 16.

²⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum, Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 143. See also the contribution of Willemien Otten in the present volume, esp. her discussion of the work of Walker Bynum.

proliferation of images as such so as to understand the fear of emptiness behind the symbol.²⁵ For it follows that the fear of transformation might well lead to a terror of disintegration, or, in psychological terms, of dissociation. In order to explain this process of fragmentation, what is more effective than to focus on the crux of Christianity, that is, the presence of Christ and the sacrament of the Eucharist?²⁶ Harking back to Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, we have to bear in mind that everything short of God is after all a sign, a symbol.²⁷

The New Testament clearly states that something happened to the bread and wine: 'I am the Bread of life.... For my flesh is food indeed and my blood is drink indeed' (John 6:48.55). The early Fathers soon felt the need to describe what happened to the bread and the blood in a more scholarly way—the first orthodox dogma developed by Irenaeus of Lyon puts an emphasis on the process of change that happened to the cup and bread made by hands, as soon as they received the Word of God.²⁸ Ambrose elaborated on the problem of change in his De sacramentis, using words such as convertere and commutare or terms such as 'symbol' (figura).29 During the Middle Ages there were two famous and pivotal moments concerning the Eucharist. The first was a dispute between two monks in the ninth century (Radbertus and Ratramnus), the second concerned the interpretation of Berengar of Tours in the eleventh century.³⁰ Both debates dealt with the problem of presence and, subsequently, the process of fragmentation (since presence as such cannot remain absolute within human temporality).³¹ For

²⁵ Babette Hellemans, 'Tangible Words. Some Reflections on the Notion of Presence in Gothic Art,' in *Iconoclasm and Iconoclash. The Role of Images in Religious Traditions*, ed. P. van Geest, D. Müller, W. van Asselt and Th. Salemink (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 127–153.

²⁶ For scholastic eleventh- and twelfth-century debates on this issue, see M.B. Pranger, 'Le sacrement de l'eucharistie et la prolifération de l'imaginaire aux XI^e et XII^e siècles,' in *Fête-Dieu (1246–1996). Actes du Colloque de Liège, 12–14 septembre 1996*, ed. André Haquin (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1999), 97–117.

²⁷ See Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* I 2ff. Jean-Claude Schmitt already pointed out the influence of Augustinian temporality in the *Bibles Moralisées*, cf. 'Appropriating the Future,' in *Medieval Futures. Attitudes to the Future in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Wei and John Burrough (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), 3–17.

²⁸ Irenaeus of Lyon, Adversus haereses V 2.2.

²⁹ Ambrose, *De sacramentis* IV 21 (for *figura*); IV 15.17.23 (for *commutare*, *mutare* and *convertere*).

³⁰ Willemien Otten, 'Between Augustinian Sign and Carolingian Reality: the Presence of the Eucharistic Debate between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie,' *Dutch Review of Church History* 80:2 (2000), 137–156.

³¹ Cf. Hellemans, 'Some Reflections on the Notion of Presence', above n. 23.

the ninth-century Ratramnus of Corbie, what is present in reality (in veritate) is only bread and wine, while Christ's body and blood are present symbolically (in figura).32 Berengar would follow this same path, espousing a figurative interpretation of Christ's eucharistic words. His teaching was condemned, and Berengar was forced to take two oaths. The first was in 1059, and placed the emphasis on how the real presence (in veritate) of the sign (sacramentum) of Christ's body and blood is 'handled by the priest and broken and crushed by the teeth of the faithful.'33 The second oath, taken twenty years later by Berengar, was a modest version of the former asserting only that the bread and wine 'are converted substantially into the true and proper and life-giving flesh and blood of Jesus Christ [...] not only in sign and virtue of the sacrament, but in the fullness of nature and the truth of the substance (in proprietate naturae et veritate substantiae).'34 Although there has been an increasing interest in the problem of change, time and presence in the sacrament of the Eucharist, the suffix 'trans-' to the Latin verb 'substantiation' (substantiare) was added explicitly by Pope Innocent III in 1202—by then, the term was in widespread use. 35 He used the word in a letter to a bishop in Lyon, alarmed by the suggestion that the clause mysterium fidei added to the words of consecration at the celebration of the mass implied that the reality (veritatem) was not present in the sacrament of the altar, but only in its image (*imaginem*), appearance (speciem) and sign (figuram). 36 The verb transsubstantiare reappears in the definition of faith against the heresy of the Albigensians, at Lateran IV in 1215. For the sake of my argument—we are now

³² Cf. G. Macy, The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period. A Study of the Salvafic Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians, 1080–1220 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 47ff. For an English translation of De corpore et sanguine Christi see Early Medieval Theology, ed. G. McCracken (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), 118–132.

³³ For an overview of Berengar's theology, see Henri Chadwick, 'Ego Berengarius,' in his volume *Tradition and Exploration* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1994), 33–60.

³⁴ On the dynamics in the celebration of the sacrament, cf. Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the early Middle Ages c. 200-c. 1150* (1991; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), for the issue concerning Berengar cf. esp. 121–123; for the theological explanation see esp. the article of Willemien Otten, 'Between Augustinian Sign and Carolingian Reality', above n. 28.

³⁵ Archbishop Hildebert de Lavardin of Tours (he died in 1133) coined the term, cf. 'Eucharist,' in *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

³⁶ H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, eds., Enchiridion Symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum, 32nd ed. (Barcelona: Herder, 1963), 782.

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entering the contemporary world of the *Bible Moralisée*—I quote the passage here in full:

[Christ's] body and blood are truly (*veraciter*) contained in the sacrament of the altar under the appearances (*speciebus*) of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated (*transsubstantiatis*) into the body and wine into the blood by the divine power.³⁷

New theological solutions to the problem of how accidents can exist without a substance to support them were formulated some decades later by Thomas Aquinas. In Question 77 of the third part of his *Summa* he put his finger on a theologically weak spot: 'What is eaten in its own form (*in sua specie*) is broken and chewed in its own form. But the body of Christ is not eaten in its own form but in sacramental form (*in specie sacramentali*).'³⁸ With Thomas' doctrine, the concept of 'substance' as related to the suffix 'trans-' and culminating in 'fragmentation' is resolved—at least for the time being.³⁹

But how does this excursion aid us in understanding the essential aspects of the world of the Bible Moralisée? The command of Latin and the palaeographical skills necessary to read all the specific texts that serve as a background for these manuscripts, together with the necessity of combining these linguistic tools with a keen knowledge of various technical theological issues that are 'pulled out', as it were, creatively, may well prohibit most scholars from pursuing these questions in great depth. Viewing a Bible Moralisée as recommended above with a bird's eye view, on the other hand, allows us to see the previously mentioned dichotomies as conceptual features of these books, which thus come to form an open complex reflecting the eyes—and the viewpoints—of the beholder. Hence, understood from the briefly described dogmatic discussion at issue in the early thirteenth century concerning the problem of 'trans-' and 'substance', our Bible Moralisée slowly starts 'moving' as our 'viewing' becomes gradually more dynamic. Studied in this way within a 'theatre of semiotics', the Bibles

³⁷ Ibidem, 802.

³⁸ Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologiae III 77.7 ad 3.

³⁹ For the Reformation period and anathematic culmination of the transubstantation controversy at the Council of Trent (1547) see Otten, 'Between Augustinian Sign and Carolingian Reality' (n. 30 above); Edward Yarnold, S.J., *Transubstantiation*, in *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy. Issues of Doctrinal History in East and West from Patristic Age to the Reformation*, I. Perczel, R. Forrai and G. Geréby, eds, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 381–394.

Moralisées reveal a discourse of images and texts of enormous power with several dimensions—perhaps the most powerful yet constructed in medieval culture.⁴⁰

HISTORY BROKEN INTO PIECES

The *Bibles Moralisées* tell the history of salvation in constant variations, in different settings of time and space. There is no plot and there is no specific reason why the story of salvation should not be continued. These books are, until the very last page, consistently made up of successive episodes, each folio divided into eight themes, each of which recounts the shortcomings of earthly temporality in the condition humaine.41 So what are the chief characteristics of the Bibles Moralisées, giving them their indecisive character as far as their conceptual identity is concerned? The most promising indication would seem to follow up on the dynamic procedure of viewing with the development of dichotomy, rooted as it is in the dialectic mind of scholasticism, and immediately relevant to the presence of evil in creation. The dichotomies I have in mind are 'fullness as opposed to emptiness' and 'shape as opposed to shapelessness'. Underlying these dichotomies and making them possible is the contemporaneous theological idea of incarnation, which is hence essential to the understanding of these Bibles. 42 It is a recurrent theme that the status of shape and form in the vanishing Neoplatonic world of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century is indeterminate. Shape is neither too tangible nor too abstract, that is, if its 'scholastic' nature is to be understood.⁴³ In line with the tra-

⁴⁰ By semiotics I intend to show that the *system* of images and signs is defined independently of language as such, that is, with reference to the *res et signa*-theory of Augustine: signs 'show' but do not 'speak'.

⁴¹ Of course, the full-paged folio of the Pierpont Morgan MS M 280b (the enclosure of the so-called *Toledo Bible*) seems to show a compositional ending of the book, although the last roundel of the previous folio shows an arbitrary ending from a narrative point of view, cf. Hellemans, *La* Bible Moralisée: *une oeuvre à part entière*, above n. 1.

⁴² I use the term 'theology' with the *caveat* that when we speak of theology as conceived by a Master in the liberal arts we do not mean quite the same thing as when we speak of theology as conceived by a 'systematic theologian'. The latter meaning of theology was coined some time later by Thomas Aquinas.

⁴³ As for the notion of vacuum, related to *creatio ex nihilo*, Plato's *Timaeus* (esp. 48e and 49a) serves as a starting point. Mimesis is a key concept in Plato's troubled relationship with artistic activity. The artist who produces imitations of things seems

dition of Neoplatonism, medieval intellectuals of this period thought lack of shape to equal diabolic horror, since the notion of void could not possibly exist in the world of plenitude created by God. About this, though, not much is said. Just as orthodoxy only needs to be defined after the appearance of heresy, so the meaning of mimesis does not receive attention until it has come under pressure. Indeed, when applied to the manipulation of imagery—the iconography of the devil, for instance—the meaning is clear enough. But when applied to the improvement of the human mind and spirit, to morality so to speak, we are less likely to agree about what mimesis is. If we take into account that 'Aristotle' is in the air, discussions concerning creation, materiality, creatio ex nihilo and so forth, might at a first glance seem self-evident in this period. With such presuppositions, artistic artefacts like a cathedral building or a *Bible Moralisée* for that matter, can indeed only be interpreted when tightly connected with a theological Summa for instance, as has been the crux of Erwin Panofsky's famous Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism. 44 But a shift in paradigms, as I propose here, implies turning the process of questioning upside-down.

As things are, it is normal for any medievalist advocating scholarly change to claim with confidence that such changes of perspective increase our conceptual understanding of the medieval past. In the end, it may well be that the place of the *Bible Moralisée* as an artefact is merely reminiscent of a kind of 'newness in the air', however much thus referring back to Panofksy's *grande théorie*. This example is illustrative of a more fundamental paradox in interdisciplinary scholarship: the increasing demand for specialisation and efficiency clashes with the capacity of 'thinking big'—as if fundamental research in the humanities is somehow outdated. What this example has tried to make clear, in the sense in which a shaping hand is intellectually distinct from an artistic hand, is that the rediscovery of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* represents the greatest *caesura* in the intellectual world of medieval Europe.

to be some kind of deceiver; at best concerned only to represent appearances and not reality itself (*Republic*, Book X). The concept of a deceived reality—'Faustian' by excellence—provides us with a different perspective on the devilish nature of artistic expression. Cf. for Plato and mimesis: *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. S. Blackburn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe: the Archabbey Press, 1951). This book represented the scholarly continuation of two earlier studies: *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946) and the Wimmer Lectures, held in 1948.

As a result it is not just the case that the civilization in which the *Bibles* Moralisées were created is nearer to the civilization of Aristotelianism than to (Neo)Platonism; rather, the Bibles Moralisées, among other early Gothic artefacts, are unique in their indecisive character, as they do not yet seem to have fully digested this change. This may be due to the relatively short period in which they were created, as compared to contemporary cathedrals or comparable building projects. The *Bibles* Moraliseés could in the best case be compared with a cathedral, and in the worst be similarly understood. Based on their composition and ontology, there is a difference which cannot be easily resolved, and it relates precisely to the anthropological problem of a world 'made flesh'. These Bibles are representative of the period in the sense that they represent a certain terror of fragmentation, of losing track in an increasingly incarnated, post-Platonic, world. They are a genuine case of horror vacui, in other words, since thirteenth-century theology and philosophy saw an increasing abhorrence of the void. 45 The theological dynamics of an ever-changing world under the realm of salvation, in which the face of the devil was multiform as he hovered between earth and hell, turned from the thirteenth century onwards more and more univocal, if not 'formalistic'.

I want to end with the motto of this article by T.S. Eliot. My quotation was meant to incite in the reader the notions of change and the fear of fragmentation which this article has described. This is a form of change that had been secured by the inquisition, leading to anxious 'questioning' and, ultimately, to the loss of beauty. It would make sense to end with Eliot's 'The Waste Land,' since this is 'our' modern cultural reference of ceaselessly alternating changing positions of personages, places and time culminating in an infinite discordant range of cultures. ⁴⁶ Eliot often refers directly to Dante and his description of the

⁴⁵ Such as the difficulty of separating two closely fitting surfaces, cf. 'vacuum'.

⁴⁶ Although the poetic work of Eliot is intertwined with his academic work, it might be helpful to the reader to glance at the latter in order to appreciate the learned context of the former. See for instance his emphasis on *development* and change, in his essay *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*: 'What perhaps influences us towards treating religion and culture as two different things is the history of the penetration of Graeco-Roman culture by the Christian Faith—a penetration which had profound effects upon that culture and upon the course of development taken by Christian thought and practice. But the culture with which primitive Christianity came into contact (as well as that of the environment in which Christianity came into contact) was itself a religious culture in decline. So, while we believe that the same religion may inform a variety of cultures, we may ask whether any culture could come into being,

limbo (the purgatory being 'invented' as a concept in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century). In Eliot's theological view of the world, in which every act is significant and carries a moral consequence, there is an underlying fundamental polarity. This polarity is opposed to a human point of view in which every action is drained of significance because there is neither salvation nor damnation. Since everything lies in the eyes of the beholder, these eyes are metamorphosed, transfigured and 'become sunlight on a broken column'. The fragmentedness of 'The Waste Land' results morphologically in a 'failure to live': the lack of choosing either good or evil. The world of 'waste land' has died without ever living; its inhabitants are not allowed to enter either Hell or Heaven since they have no choice in life to be virtuous or to sin. Ethics, esthetics and sacrament join each other within the act of re-shaping. The devil has the shape of an ever-changing shadow—a *spiritus multiformis*.

Between the idea
And the reality
Between the motion
And the act
Falls the Shadow
For Thine is the Kingdom
Between the conception
And the creation
Between the emotion
And the response
Falls the Shadow

(T.S. Eliot, The Hollow Men, 1925)

or maintain itself, without a religious basis. We may go further and ask whether what we call the culture, and what we call the religion, of a people are not different aspects of the same thing: the culture being, essentially, the incarnation (so to speak) of the religion of a people. To put the matter in this way may throw light on my reservation concerning the word *relation*' [italics by T.S.E.], in T.S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (London: Faber & Faber, 1961), 28.

⁴⁷ Cf. Jacques Le Goff, La naissance du purgatoire (1981; Paris: Gallimard 1991).

⁴⁸ T.S. Eliot, The Hollow Men (1925).

Figures illustrating '*Horror vacui*: Evil in the Incarnated World of the *Bibles Moralisées*'

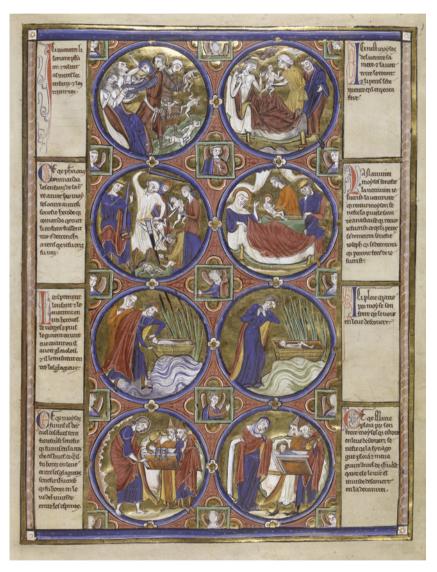


Figure 1 The typical lay-out of a Bible Moralisée, ms. ÖNB 2554, fol. 16r.



Figure 2 Frontispiece of the *Bible Moralisée*, ms. ÖNB 2554.

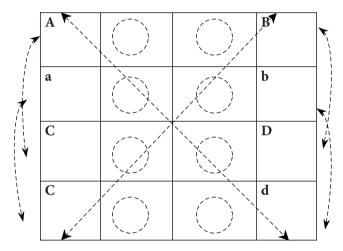


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